THE

FOREIGN

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Mémoires complets et authentiques du* Duc de Saint-Simon *sur le Siècle de Louis XIV. et la Régence; publiés pour la première fois sur le manuscrit original, entièrement écrit de la main de l'auteur, par* M. le Marquis de Saint-Simon, Pair de France, &c. &c. Paris. 1829-30. 21 vols. 8vo.

THE title of MEMOIRS has lately been profaned in France by the authors of historical fictions, in the form of biography, composed with so much art, and published with so much impudence, as to deceive unwary readers for a time, and produce a general distrust of books appearing under the same denomination. The Memoirs of the Duc de Saint-Simon are, however, of a very different character. The history of the work is somewhat curious. When the Duke died in 1755, the original manuscript of his Memoirs, written entirely in his own hand, was deemed of such importance by his family, and the custody of it so delicate a matter, that they applied for a *lettre de cachet*, by authority of which it was taken possession of, and deposited, for preservation, among the archives of the state. They did not, however, cease to regard it as their property, and when the death of most or all of the persons mentioned in it,* had removed the difficulty which had been originally felt, they made various applications for its restitution, which were always neglected One of these applications was made shortly after Louis XVIth's accession to the throne, and probably led to that examination of the Memoirs, which was the indirect cause of their first imperfect appearance before the world. The task of their examination was committed to the Abbé Voisenon, who made very copious extracts from them; from which extracts considerable portions were subsequently copied, and by the infidelity of a domestic, one of these copies got into hands by which they were finally committed to the press at the beginning of the Revolution. (1788 and 1789. 7 vols.) The Abbé Soulavie, two years afterwards, republished them in better order, with

* The Memoirs terminate with the death of the Regent Orleans, in 1720; the author lived thirty-four years after that event.

some additions, (in 13 vols. 8vo.) and his edition was the only one, till the present appeared, by which we were enabled to judge of the value of the *Memoirs of Saint-Simon*. It is to the justice and liberality of Louis XVIII., however, that we really owe the final appearance of the work as the author wrote it; for it was he who gave orders for the restitution of the MS. to the Marquis de Saint-Simon, the author's descendant, and thereby supplied the materials for the *complete* and *authentic* edition now before us.

Historians, who have had access to these Memoirs, have always held them in the highest estimation, and in all works which treat of the history of Europe during the latter part of the seventeenth, and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, constant reference is made to their high authority. It is only now, however, that the voluminous original is published, not merely entire, but in every part exactly as it came from the admirable pen of the author As it stands before us, a range of twenty-one goodly volumes, of close type and ample size, we do not hesitate to compare it in value, of an historical kind, with any work, of whatever fame, which has issued from the press since the invention of printing. Without an accurate examination of it, it is difficult to understand the nature of Saint-Simon's claims to the respect of the historical inquirer.

Saint-Simon is not an *annalist:* for, though his Memoirs record most of the events of his time, he describes only the facts that came under his own cognizance, or those of his immediate informers. He is not an *historian:* for he does not bind himself to trace any order of events, or narrate any particular transactions. He is not a *biographer:* for he is more sedulous in drawing the character of his subject, than in pursuing him through the different stages of his life. But he partakes of all the three characters, and embraces much more than comes under any one of them. All that an able and inquisitive man, moving in the very first circles of a great court, could *ascertain* in the course of a vigorous existence, whether in the way of character, anecdote, event, scene, or incident, relating to a most interesting period, is embraced in the rich treasure which the world is now fortunate enough to possess in the Memoirs before us.

The groundwork of these Memoirs is the life of the author himself; but, as during the reign of Louis XIV. he was much more of an observer than an actor, the incidents that relate to his own person are overgrown with the facts that relate to others. These are related in a style of vigour and force that leaves nothing to be desired for effect, and with that air of reasonableness and good sense which impresses the reader not only with confidence in the veracity of the narrator, but with respect and esteem for

his character. Along with faith in the author's honesty, we cannot fail also to take with us a high respect for his talents. No writer has yet possessed a more perspicuous insight into character, or better succeeded in transferring his portraits to paper. His memoirs form a gallery of the great men of his age, and to study them as they live in his pages is a near approach to living in the age they adorned or, it may be, disgraced. It would be far from a compliment to the Duc de Saint-Simon to call him the French Clarendon, though there are not wanting points of resemblance between him and the English writer. The subject of Saint-Simon is, however, far less gloomy, and quite as instructive as that of the Rebellion; his characters, moreover, are drawn with equal perspicuity, and much less prejudice. Saint-Simon brings both persons and things in the most lively point of view before the reader; while Clarendon, with not more vigour but far more effort, obscures his subject by elaboration, and darkens even intelligent remarks by a lumbering obscurity of style. The style of Saint-Simon is not what is called polished, for his sense does not wait upon construction; he writes from a full mind, and is content to put down precisely what he would have spoken when animated by a favourite subject, and in a pleasant mood for the elucidation of the characters of the men he had lived with, or the events that passed before his eyes. In the estimation of their contemporaries both stood equally high; both were men who had enjoyed the highest offices and possessed the greatest influence, and were equally anxious that their times should be well understood by posterity. The one, however, is altogether monarchical in his principles, and if the aristocratical order ever had a zealous and conscientious partizan, Saint-Simon was the man.

Saint-Simon was, in fact, the model of an aristocrat; the importance he attaches to trifling matters of precedence is only to be understood by one who has imbued himself in the spirit of his times. His sentiments of honour are scrupulous and sensitive to a degree becoming the immediate descendant of a race of chivalry. As a man he is modest, sensible, and liberal; but the instant he identifies himself with an injured body, as he considered the aristocracy of his age to be, he is proud, haughty, and defying. To be without birth is, with him, an argument of incompetency; but at the same time to be successful, overweening, and assuming, as were many of the upstart ministers of Louis XIV., was a proof of unexampled baseness. With this feeling, however, it is plain to see struggling a spirit of justice and discrimination, the offspring of a clear head and a good disposition. Of the people, in these Memoirs we hear nothing: Saint-Simon, in some of his projects, looks upon them in the light of a flock that ought

neither to be harried by wolves, nor tormented by dogs, but individually, and as persons exciting the writer's sympathy, throughout the whole of these twenty-one volumes, they may be said to be non-existent. The king, the ministers, the mistresses, the army, and the court, in its classes of aristocracy, favourites, and servitors, are the only bodies of whose importance a grand seigneur of that time was cognizant. Service was his first thought; after two or three campaigns, and a siege or two, he was considered qualified, not to desert the army, (for this Louis rarely forgave,) but to beg some charge about the court during a cessation of military operations—to spend the winter at Versailles, to hunt with the king, and to ask for an invitation to Marly. If, as was probable, he was governor of some town, or held any other high provincial charge, an occasional visit to the seat of it might be overlooked. Then, again, occurred the duties of war, an expedition to Savoy, attended by his gentlemen and friends, or to Flanders or the Rhine. The grand spectacle of the manœuvres of Turenne, Luxembourg, or Villars, with the excitement of some danger, afforded a few opportunities of distinguishing that courage in which a nobleman of that day was never deficient, and thus being talked of in the saloons of Versailles—such is a general sketch of the ordinary life of such a person. Of course it was varied by political cabals, by intrigues, by duels, and by occasional visits to the Bastille. The moral characteristics of the courtiers were not of a high order; success was the end and arbiter of all measures, and there appear to have been no means of ensuring it, however base or wicked, which were not resorted to: the object of the success being rarely of a kind to palliate the unworthiness of the instruments. High play, profusion, and expense of every description, were too general to be considered peculiar to an individual; they had, moreover, the royal sanction; and it is curious to consider how completely the moral code of that age was the creature of the monarch's breath. No man was ever so completely the director of the spirit of his time as Louis, and yet there has been a majority of kings who have far exceeded him in talent and information. He was, in fact, the founder of a system, both in manners and morals, which spread over the whole of Europe, reigned in France till the Revolution broke it up, and of which the traces may be yet detected in every corner of the civilized world.

The materials for the developement of this system are to be found in the work before us. It is an investigation, however, that we shall not pursue; for, although it might be attended with interesting results, it would lead us into a discussion and analysis of detached portions of the Memoirs; our object will rather be, by selecting and arranging a few of their prominent features, to convey to our readers a just notion of their several contents. We

cannot do this better than by collecting together, from various parts of these volumes, the traits which distinguish some of the characters who have left their impress on the times, a process which will show the description of materials the Duc de Saint-Simon has left for the student of history, whose main object is to live over again other times with the spirit and philosophy of a highly improved age.

The first character that naturally presents itself for consideration is THE MASTER himself; the man, who, above all others, was set apart, by the course of events, to be all of a god that mortal will suffer, or mortals create. In the personal character of Louis is necessarily included that of the companion of half his long life —the Maintenon. After him we shall introduce into our gallery a few of the rarer spirits of his reign.

A remarkable characteristic of the age and reign of Louis XIV. is that he was his own *premier:* the tyranny to which, in his youth, he had been subjected by Mazarin, gave him a horror of a prime minister, and he determined to be his own; this was an early resolve which never could be shaken. Out of the same source sprung his objection to a churchman in his cabinet; it was a determination to which he adhered all through his long and various reign with equal decision. He flattered himself that he should be able to govern alone—it was a grievous mistake; his reign is a satire upon despotism. He was not ruled by one, but by every body in their turns, and he who cherished the idea that his will was the predominant law, in fact exercised less will in the management of his affairs than the meanest subject of his realm.

The opening of his life, which cannot properly be dated before he arrived at twenty-three years of age, was, undoubtedly, a prosperous one, according to the ordinary scale by which such positions are calculated. The agitation of the realm since the death of Louis XIII. had produced the ordinary consequence of agitation in the affluence of genius which it had called up in every department. The ministers at the head of affairs were the adroitest and ablest in Europe according to the ideas of the day; his generals held the first rank in the world, and their seconds were men who became founders of systems and schools of war in their time; and the court was crowded with men of experience and ability, who had been formed in the stirring period which had only just subsided.

The state was in a flourishing condition, or seemed so, which, with historians, is pretty generally the same thing. Colbert, however, had arranged the finances in some order; the shipping, the commerce, the manufactures, and even the literature of the country assumed an air of prosperity. Colbert, like a skilful

gardener, by the aid of a little sun and a fortunate aspect, had succeeded in ripening a fruit which the ambition of his master, and the rivalry of his fellow ministers, resolved shortly upon plucking for their own use.

Though a young man and a king, Louis was not altogether without experience. He had been a constant frequenter of the house of the Countess de Soissons, the niece of Cardinal Mazarin, the resort of all that was distinguished, both male and female, that the age could produce, and where he first caught that fine air of gallantry and nobleness, which characterized him ever afterwards, and marked even his most trifling actions. For, though the talents of Louis XIV. were in fact rather below mediocrity, he possessed a power of forming his manners and character upon a model, and of adhering to it, which is often more valuable in the conduct of life than the very greatest abilities. By nature he was a lover of order and regularity, he was prudent, moderate, secret, the master both of his actions and his tongue. For these virtues, as they may be called in a king, he was perhaps indebted to his natural constitution, and if education had done as much for him, certainly he would have been a better ruler. He had a passion, however, or rather a foible,—that was vanity, or as it was then called, glory. No flattery was too gross for him—incense was the only intellectual food he imbibed. Independence of character he detested: the man who once, though but for an instant, stood up before him in the consciousness of manly integrity of purpose, was lost for ever in the favor of the King. He detested the nobility, because they were not the creatures of his breath; they had their own consequence; his ministers were always his favorites, because he had made them and could unmake them, and because, moreover, they had abundant opportunities of applying large doses of the most fulsome flattery, and of prostrating themselves before him, of assuming an air of utter nothingness in his presence, of attributing to him the praise of every scheme they had invented, and of insinuating that their own ideas were the creatures of his suggestions. To such a pitch was this intoxication carried, that he who had neither ear nor voice might be heard singing among his peculiar intimates snatches of the most fulsome parts of the songs in his own praise. And even at the public suppers, when the band played the airs to which they were set, he might be heard humming the same passages between his teeth. The generals in this respect were as bad as the ministers: they led him to believe that he dictated every measure, and that their best plans were formed on the hints he had thrown out. The courtiers, with such examples before them, performed their natural parts with even more than ordinary zeal. But the facility with

which they administered to his vanity was not so remarkable as the ease with which he appropriated everything to himself, and the ineffable satisfaction with which he glorified himself, on every fresh offering of adulation.

His love of sieges and reviews was only another form of this his only enthusiasm, his passion for himself. A siege was a fine opportunity for exhibiting his capacity, in other words, for attributing to himself all the talents of a great general: here too he could exhibit his courage at little expense of danger, for he could be prevailed upon, as it were with difficulty, to keep in the back ground, and by the aid of his admirable constitution, and great power of enduring hunger, thirst, fatigue, and changes of temperature, really exhibit himself in a very advantageous point of view. At reviews also, his fine person, his skill in horsemanship, and that air of dignity and noble presence, enabled him to play the first part with considerable effect. It was always with a talk of his campaigns and his troops that he used to entertain his mistresses, and sometimes his courtiers. The subject must necessarily have been tiresome to them, but it was in some measure redeemed by the elegance and propriety of his expressions: he had a natural justness of phrase in conversation, and told a story better than any man of his time. The talent of recounting is by no means a common quality; he had it in perfection.

It scarcely consorts with our notion of Louis le Grand, that if he had a talent for any thing, it was for the management of the merest details. His mind naturally ran on small differences. He was incessantly occupied with the meanest minutiæ of military affairs. Clothing, arms, evolutions, drill, discipline—in a word, all the lowest details. It was the same in his buildings, his establishments, his household supplies; he was perpetually fancying that he could teach the men who understood the subject, whatever it might be, better than any body else, and they, of course, received his instruction in the manner of novices. This waste of time he would term a continual application to business. It was a description of industry which exactly suited the purposes of his ministers, who by putting him upon the scent in some trivial matter, respecting which they pretended to receive the law from him, took care to manage all the more important matters according to their own schemes.

A circumstance which deserves attention, is the residence of this monarch at a distance from his capital. It was not without its design or its influence in the establishment of the absolute sovereignty which was the favorite project of Louis XIV. From Paris he had been driven in his youth, and the memory of his flight was a bitter subject; there he never considered himself safe, besides being exposed to the observation of spirits of every description. At a court

separate from the capital he had his courtiers more immediately under his eye; absences could be easily marked, and cabals crushed in their infancy. Then came the ruinous taste for building, which it was more easy to indulge at Versailles or Marly, than in the immediate neighbourhood of a crowded capital. His changes of residence were chiefly made for the purpose of creating and keeping up a number of artificial distinctions, by which he kept the court in a constant state of anxiety and expectation. It was the fashion to request to accompany him, to desire apartments near him; and according as these boons were granted, so was the courtier humiliated or exalted. When he resided at St. Germain, Versailles served this purpose; when at Versailles, Marly; and though at Trianon the whole court were at liberty to present themselves, yet even there a distinction was made, that ladies might there eat with the king: and particular ones were pointed out to receive the honor as each meal arrived. The schemes of this kind were infinite, and kept his court in a state of perpetual excitement and anxiety to please.

The *justaucorps à brevet* was an invention of the same kind; it was a uniform of blue lined and turned up with red, and red waistcoat embroidered with a grand pattern of gold and some silver. A small number only were permitted to wear this dress; it was one of the highest favours, and every means of interest were set on foot to obtain it. They who wore it were alone permitted to accompany the king from St. Germains to Versailles without being invited.

Louis XIV. not only knew how to keep his courtiers alive to a sense of the distinctions he created, and watchful of his pleasure, but he had that curious faculty of personal observation which seems peculiar to royalty. Neither the absence nor the presence of any one escaped him; and not merely the persons of distinction, but even individuals of inferior note. At his rising in the morning, at his retiring at night (his *coucher*), at his repast, in passing to his apartments, or in his walks in the gardens of Versailles, when the courtiers alone had permission to follow him, his eyes were on the watch, he saw and remarked every body, down to persons who did not even hope to be seen. In his own mind he kept a most accurate account of these things, and distinguished between the occasional absence of constant attendants, and those of the individuals who only came to court occasionally; and according to these accounts he invariably acted. When he was asked for any thing for a person who never presented himself, he would say proudly "I do not know him;" or for one who came rarely, "He is a man whom I never see;" and these sentences were final. Another crime was not to go to Fontainebleau, which he looked upon in the same light as Versailles; and for others not to ask

permission to accompany him to Marly, although he had no intention of taking them; and on the other hand, if a courtier were on that footing, to have a general liberty of going there, absence was unpardonable, either in male or female. The persons who liked Paris he could not bear. They who loved the country might stay for a time at their chateaux without offence; but it was necessary before going there to take proper precautions against misinterpretation.

Another royal *tact* was that of never forgetting the face of a man whom he had once seen; though a person otherwise insignificant, if the king had once seen him, he would remember him at the distance of twenty years. He had a similar memory for *personal facts*, and though he never confounded them, still it was impossible for him to remember every thing; and if, therefore, any individual was named to him with any view of employment, it was fatal to him if the king recollected that there was any thing against him, though he had not the power of remembering exactly what the objection might be.

One of his perpetual cares was to be well informed of every thing that was passing every where—in places of public resort, in private houses, the facts of ordinary intercourse and the secrets of families, and of amours. He had spies and reporters every where, and of all classes; some who were ignorant that their information was meant for him,—others who knew that it ultimately reached him,—a third set who corresponded directly with him,—and a fourth were permitted to have secret interviews with him, through back stairs. Information conveyed in this form was the ruin of many a man, who never knew from what quarter the storm came. It was he who first invested the *lieutenant de police* with his dangerous functions, and which went on increasing: these officers were the most formidable persons about the court, and were treated with most decided consideration and attention by every one, even by the ministers themselves. There was not an individual, not excepting the princes of the blood, who had not an interest in preserving their good will, and who did not try to do it. The opening of letters was another of the shameful means of procuring information. Two persons, Pajoute and Roullier, farmed the post, and apparently on this condition, for no efforts could ever succeed, either in displacing them or in augmenting their rent. This department of *espionage* was performed with a most extraordinary dexterity and promptitude: generally the heads only of remarkable letters were laid before the King; in other instances the letter itself. A word of contempt for the King or his government was certain ruin: and we have Saint-Simon's testimony for saying, that it is incredible how many persons of all classes were more or less injured by these means. The secrecy with which it

was conducted was impenetrable. Neither secrecy, nor yet dissimulation, was at all painful or difficult for the king.

This last accomplishment is termed by the French a talent: he pushed it to the extreme of falsity without however being guilty of a verbal lie. He piqued himself on keeping his word, and gave it but very rarely. He was also as careful of the secrets of others as of his own: and was flattered by certain confidences and confessions on the part of his courtiers, which neither minister nor mistress could ever afterwards wring from him.

Louis XIV. was the model of a king who should have no state duties to perform, who was required as the head of a court and the hero of addresses, petitions, levees, openings of a parliament, reviews, occasional festivals, and in short all the lighter duties of a constitutional monarch, with one exception, his passion for buildings. In all personal matters he was perfect. There was a grace in all he did, a precision and an elegance in all he said, that rendered an attention from him a distinction. He knew the value of it, and may be said to have sold his words, nay, even his smile, even his looks. He spoke rarely to any one; when he did it was with majesty, and also with brevity. His slightest notice or preference was measured, or, as it were, proportionably weighed out. No harsh word ever escaped him; if he had occasion to reprimand or reprove, it was always done with an air of kindness, never in anger, and rarely even with stiffness.

He may be said to have been polished to the very limits of nature: no one better marked the distinctions of age, merit and rank, all which he took care to hit exactly in his manner of salutation, or of receiving the reverences on arrival or departure. His respectful manner to women was charming: he never passed even a chambermaid without raising his hat, though, as at Marly, he might know them to be such: and if he accosted a lady, he never replaced his hat till he had quitted her. These are what we call the manners of the old school; he was the perfecter of them, and one of their most successful professors, if not altogether their creator.

In the interior of his domestic life he was remarkably good tempered and patient, punctual and exact in himself, and considerate for others. His own extraordinary regularity made the service of the palace proceed like clockwork: no small convenience for his courtiers, who were bound to be in particular saloons, or galleries, or cabinets, at particular moments of their master's day.

He treated his servants and body-attendants with great consideration and favour, and in fact, like other kings, was more at his ease with them than any other society. Their influence was supposed to be great, and they were courted even by the first

nobility of the land. He always protected them; so that in case they happened to be insolent, a nobleman was bound to know either how to avoid it, or to bear it. He was very particular in ascertaining with what attention they had been treated when he sent them on any message; he used to relate with complacency that he one day sent one of his footmen to the Duke de Monbazon, governor of Paris, who at the time was in one of his chateaux, and on the arrival of the royal servant was just sitting down to dinner. The duke made the servant sit down to dinner with him, and when he departed, accompanied him to the door, in honour of his master. This act of base servility was an offering to the idol, and greedily accepted.

There must have been something very imposing in the expression of his countenance, and in the majesty of his port. Saint-Simon observes, that on occasions of ceremony it was necessary for the person who had to harangue him, to be accustomed to the sight of him, to avoid the risk of blundering and stopping short in his speech. His own answers on such occasions are represented as models of propriety, and were often conceived in an agreeable tone of compliment to the person before him, if such had been called for by the merit of the discourse. On gayer occasions he was equally majestic; and though always graceful and easy, never was guilty of the slightest jest, or movement, that could be considered misplaced or awkward: all was decent, grand, noble, and at the same time animated by an air of natural gaiety and good humour, which, joined to his advantages of form and face, made his approach irresistible.

This perfect command of his person was in part the consequence of his excellence at all athletic sports and exercises. He loved the air, and was constantly out in it, either shooting (he was the best shot in France) or hunting. The stag he used to follow at Fontainebleau after he broke his arm, in a calash drawn by four ponies, which he managed at full gallop with admirable skill. He excelled also in dancing, a species of golf, and at racket; and up to a late period of his life was an admirable horseman. Connected with his fondness for shooting was his attachment to dogs, of which he used to keep seven or eight in his apartments, and feed them himself.

He had a natural turn for magnificence and splendour, and certainly it was scarcely possible for man to carry it further; and, like every other taste, it was extensively imitated, spread all over court, camp, and city, and reduced the nobility to poverty and difficulties; a result which, Saint-Simon says, he foresaw, and indeed calculated on, to second his own purposes of subjugating the grand seigneurs of his dominions, by means more artful and more certain than the violent schemes of Richelieu.

The passion of this magnificent monarch for splendid buildings and palaces is intelligible enough; but in the indulgence of it there was a pride, a caprice, and a bad taste, for which it is more difficult to account. St. Germains, which is on an elevated site, admirably adapted for a palace of any dimensions, surrounded by picturesque beauties of every description, and abounding in all those advantages which nature alone can supply in perfection, he abandoned for Versailles. Versailles—the most melancholy and barren spot, perhaps, in the whole of France! without prospect, destitute of wood, of water, even of soil—for where it is not sand it is marsh—and, to crown the whole, unhealthy; in short, a swamp. It seems as if he had determined to treat Nature as one of his courtiers, and try to tyrannise and subdue her by the force of art and treasure. When tired of the forest of stone, the mazes of foliage, and the plains of pavement he had piled together, and when his innumerable apartments, his saloon upon saloon, were crowded with a brilliant court, it occurred to him that he must have a retreat where he could retire with a dozen or two of his greatest favourites. He chose Marly, because it was in a deep and narrow little valley, the sides of which were nearly perpendicular, and destitute of either beauty in itself, or prospect abroad. His reason for fixing on this spot was, that here at least he could not spend money in building. All the world knows the result: lakes were made one month and filled up the next; forests were planted of trees at the full size; the hills that obstructed the view were cut in twain, and Marly ended by costing as much as Versailles. The Duc de Saint-Simon tells us that he has seen alleys, and thickets, and walks changed into an extensive piece of water, on which parties sailed in boats, and which, six weeks afterwards, was metamorphosed again into a forest dark with foliage. Of course more than three parts of these trees died, but they were immediately replaced. The trees were transported from Compiégne, and even a greater distance.

To attempt a portrait of Louis XIV. without entering into the character of a person who so decidedly affected his fortunes as Madame de Maintenon, would be to shut out one of the best lights. The Duc de Saint-Simon has given us ample materials: he long survived her: he was well acquainted with the persons who were familiar with her, and though, in common with all the grand seigneurs of the court, he bore her no love, yet he is too honest and clearsighted ever to deal in fiction to her prejudice. We pass over her early history, with the exception of the fact that she was a West Indian, the same country which afterwards furnished another *parvenue* in Josephine to occupy the same throne. Madame Maintenon's reputation as the widow of Scarron was by no means unimpeachable; it did not, however, prevent her from

being introduced to some of the houses of the highest nobility on the footing of a companion. Such persons in that capacity were more useful before the introduction of bells than they have been since. She appears to have won her way by the agreeableness of her conversation, and the charm of her manners: and becoming the humble friend of Madame de Montespan, at that time the 'accredited' mistress of the king, she was intrusted with the care and education of the royal bastards. The little Duc de Maine was club-footed, and he and his governante were sent to all the baths in France and its neighbourhood, in the hopes of his washing his crooked foot straight. Previous to this time, the king had conceived a great aversion for Madame Scarron, and frequently attempted to induce Madame de Montespan to part with her. The perusal of her letters first produced a change in his feelings towards her. Afterwards she used to act as a mediator in the quarrels which frequently took place between the monarch and his haughty and capricious mistress, and was found so useful by both, that at last she became necessary. Madame de Montespan, the proudest beauty that ever graced or tormented a court, had at length the profound mortification of perceiving that she was indebted for the royal visits to the attendant governante, the poor and neglected widow of Scarron, the buffoon-poet, whom she had raised from utter insignificance to consequence and competency. When the Queen died, the King made proposals to Madame de Maintenon (for that had become her name); she ventured to reject them on the ground of religion. She was artful, and knew her man; finding that marriage was the ultimatum, the aid of Père la Chaise was desired, and the widow of Scarron was married at midnight to Louis the Great, in one of the cabinets of the royal apartments at Versailles: his head valet, Bontems, served the mass (as marriage in the religion of the Romish church is called), and Harlay, bishop of Paris, was present as diocesan, as well as Louvois the minister; the two latter having exacted the royal promise that the marriage should never be declared. It might have been supposed that if any man could have made good terms with a woman, it was the King: he, however, was compelled to give marriage as a consideration for that person which his inferiors by infinite degrees had taken almost for charity. These things depend not so much on the real situation of parties, as upon the weakness of one mind and the dexterity of another. From that hour Madame de Maintenon was more than a queen in France; by the King she was treated with marks of outward respect and almost veneration, which, while they drew the courtiers on their knees, made them almost burst for vexation and disgust. The aristocratic distinctions, which seemed to their minds a part of nature, were too strong even for the King to eradicate, though he

was easily able to suppress every external sign of their existence. Without appearing to take any part in state matters, she ruled the affairs of the country, and ruled them as might have been expected from her extreme ignorance in such matters, and from the strong bias of bigotry and superstition under which she acted,—ruled them not merely ill, but in such a manner as to draw the nation to the very brink of ruin, degrade the character of the monarch, and, what is worse, spread wretchedness and dismay farther and wider than perhaps any other woman ever had the power to do. But for the means.

It was the system of Madame de Maintenon and the ministers, for a series of thirty-four years, to render the king inapproachable in private. As he passed from council to mass, or, on similar occasions, in galleries and antichambers, the courtiers had the privilege, whoever could catch it, of speaking to him, or whispering in his perruque any matter they might have at heart; his usual answer was a gracious *je verrai* (I will see), and if the conversation was attempted to be continued, the king, arriving at the door of his apartment, left the unhappy courtier to his reflections. By such contrivances as these, and a thousand others, the king was cut off from free communication with the world or his court, and with all his notions of despotic sway, was, in fact, a prisoner in the hands of a cabal—his mistress, his ministers and his confessor, who took care to play into each others hands. The different ministers transacted business with the king in the apartment of La Maintenon, where she sat at work, apparently taking no notice of the conversation which passed. Sometimes the king would turn round and ask her opinion, which she always gave timidly and modestly, and generally coincided with that of the minister: the fact all the time being, that the minister and she had previously settled the points in agitation. If, for instance, the matter in hand was a list of candidates for a particular employment, the minister went over the names, until he came to the one Madame de Maintenon had previously consented to, and after balancing the merits of the various competitors, at last summed up in favour of the name he had stopped at. If the king preferred another, and was obstinate, he was led away from the subject; other things were started, and the appointment was brought upon the carpet at another interview, when, in all probability, the humour had shifted. If the minister rebelled against the female sway, he was lost; but if, on the other hand, he was adroit and obedient, Madame de Maintenon took care of his reward. Before his arrival, she would lead the conversation upon the incessant labours of the minister, or upon the king's fatigue and attention to business, and suggest that the king should incite him to still greater zeal by some specific reward (some point the minister

wanted to carry), in order that less of the weight of business should fall upon the Monarch; and by other methods, for which so clever a person was never at a loss.

Madame de Maintenon was a devotee for several reasons: first, because she had been licentious, and bigotry conjoined with prudery was an admirable contrivance for throwing early imprudences into the shade. Then again, it was the weak side of the king; by superstition she maintained her authority over him, and insured his permanent veneration. The confessor and the bishops were her natural allies. The extent of the king's ignorance appears incredible, monstrous—until we reflect that a man can only know that which passes through the channels of some of his senses. He had been in the hands of priests from his youth, and absolutely shut out, literally locked and barred, from all the rest of the world, except the priests and the priest-like. From them he learned that religion was divided into Jesuitism and Jansenism; that Jansenism meant Republicanism; that it was hateful to God and injurious to man. The Huguenots were Jansenists, and something worse—they practised what the others only taught; to convert them was represented as the most glorious work that man could accomplish, and certain to ensure absolution to the greatest of sinners. Thus, when the horrible persecutions of the Protestants were going on, and acts of atrocity were daily and hourly committed which make the era of the revocation of the edict of Nantes the blackest and basest in French history, the king heard of nothing but of conversions by the hundred and thousand, and while he, damning his fame and scourging his generation, considered himself an apostle, all was triumph and festival at court, the king's face shone with holy joy, masses were sung and said in gratitude, bishops from all quarters sent him congratulatory letters, and of course the courtiers re-echoed the sounds of satisfaction. What a spectacle! behind the scene were the fanatic de Maintenon, the Jesuit confessor, and the cruel and unprincipled Louvois, the devastator of the Palatinate, pulling the wires of their puppets, and maintaining their wretched places and power at the expense of an integral portion of the whole human race.

Besides a passion for governing, Madame de Maintenon had a kindred one for what is called in French *regenting*,—setting up for a teacher and regulator of the affairs of seminaries, abbeys, and nunneries. Besides her own magnificent establishment of St. Cyr, a sort of theological court, she managed almost all the religious societies of the country. Her grand ambition was to be considered the general lady abbess of the kingdom, a sort of royal and religious mother of the whole body of devotees and fanatics. This pursuit raised her in the estimation of the king,

while it flattered her own vanity, and fell in with her peculiar disposition.

There is something so curious, both in the character and position of Madame de Maintenon, that we confess we have perhaps derived more satisfaction from Saint-Simon's details respecting her, than any other portion of his admirable volumes. The picture is so minute, and yet so striking, so philosophical and so entertaining, that we must dwell upon some of the traits a little longer. Madame de Maintenon, though a queen in the interior of the palace, was a private lady in public: and being of very inferior rank, after all the honours that had been conferred upon her, her position became delicate. No one would venture upon taking precedence of her, and yet it was impossible for her to assume it. With her ordinary dexterity, and in accordance with her natural character on all such occasions, she affected the humble, the obliged, the reverential, and would even retire before persons whom in her own rank she might have led. But no,—her part was the extremely modest and retiring creature, whom God and the king had chosen to be sure to distinguish, all undeserving as she was of such high favour. Thus the ladies of the court, where distinction was the very breath of the place, had to leave in a corner, acting humility, the person who with a word could have driven the proudest from the only atmosphere in which a courtier of that time, male or female, thought it was possible to exist. She, who in public, was only accommodated with a stool by an artifice, in private enjoyed all the honours of the arm chair—in the presence of the king, and of the ex-royal family of England; and they who know the importance attached to the *chair*, the intrigues that have been set on foot for a *stool*, and the confusion in the church about a *bench* for the cardinals, can alone understand how much is conveyed by this fact. This awkwardness might be one of the reasons of her shutting herself up: she was almost as unapproachable as the king himself; she paid rare visits but to a very few, and it was only a few familiars who could make good their way into her apartments. One good point—one honest quality Madame de Maintenon *did* possess. She never forgot or neglected the friends of her adversity. Those that were mean she raised, those that were great already she endowed with privileges that were considered the greatest boons a courtier could receive. Among the companions of her adversity was an old female servant who had adhered to her when the widow of Scarron was reduced to seek the charity of her parish. Her name was Manon, and Manon Madame Maintenon always called her, after she became Mademoiselle Balbien for the court, and a personage. Though retain-

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ing her primitive simplicity of speech and manners, and imitating the austerity of her mistress in her dress, she was a person of the utmost importance in the eyes of all those who wished to carry a point with her mistress. The Duc de Saint-Simon has condescended to give a characteristic portrait of Manon, with several anecdotes of her service; for everything at court is important, if it comes within the enchanted circle of power.

To a woman of de Maintenon's ambition, the declaration of her marriage must necessarily have been an object near to her heart. On two several occasions she had so far succeeded with the king that he was on the point of acknowledging her, and twice he was prevented; first, by the ardent solicitation of Louvois, and the second time, by the advice of Bossuet and Fenelon. Louvois was poisoned, and Fenelon disgraced. The Bishop of Meaux's authority with the king, the weight of his eloquence and character, and, more than all, the need of his services, prevented him from sharing the fate of the Archbishop of Cambrai. The anecdote of Louvois' resistance deserves to be quoted in a translation of the passage: it gives an insight into courts.

"Many years after, Louvois, who was always well informed of what was passing in the interior of the palace, and who spared no means to procure speedy information, was told of the schemes Madame de Maintenon had on foot to get herself declared, that the king had had the weakness to consent, and that the affair was about to explode. He sent for the Archbishop of Paris to Versailles, and, immediately after the dinner, took some papers, and went to the king's apartments, and as he was used, went straight into the cabinet. The king had just risen, and was arranging his clothes. Seeing Louvois at an hour not usual with him, he demanded what brought him. 'Something of great importance that requires despatch,' said Louvois, with an air of sadness that astonished the king, who told him to send away the valets of the interior, who were waiting. They went away, it is true, but they left the doors open; so that they heard all, and saw as well by means of the mirrors. This was the great danger of the cabinets.

"When they had left, Louvois did not hesitate to tell the king what had brought him. The king was unable to deny the fact, but attempted to turn it off with some evasions that required no penetration to see through, and being pressed by the minister, he began to make for the interior cabinet, where the valets were, and thus deliver himself. But Louvois, who saw the device, threw himself on his knees before him and stopped him, drew from his side a little sword which he wore, presented the handle to the king, and begged his majesty to put him to death instantly if he persisted in declaring his marriage, in breaking his royal word, and in the eyes of all Europe covering himself with an infamy which he (Louvois) would never live to see. The king stamped and started, and bade him instantly let him go: but Louvois held him by the legs still tighter, for fear he should escape, and went on representing

the horrible contrast of his crown and personal glory with the disgrace he was going to join with it, and which would eventually kill him with remorse: in a word, he succeeded in getting a second promise from the king that he never would declare his marriage. The Archbishop of Paris arrived in the evening. Louvois related to him what he had done. The courtly prelate would have been utterly incapable of such an effort, and in fact it was an action which, if properly viewed, ought to be considered sublime. Louvois at the time was all-powerful; he was passionately attached to his place, its duties and its authority; and at the same time he knew that Maintenon was supreme, and felt all the weight of her influence. He was also well aware that she was too well informed of every thing that passed not to be able very soon to trace her disappointment to the right source, and that her inextinguishable hatred would be the consequence. The archbishop, who had nothing to do but to confirm the king in the promise he had at the marriage given to both, and which had just been repeated to the minister, could not refuse his aid. He therefore spoke to the king next morning, and had no difficulty in drawing from him the renewal of his promise."

Louvois was poisoned; the archbishop was disgraced. There appears to have existed no doubt in the mind of Saint-Simon that the disappointed woman was the mover in the first heinous affair, as she undoubtedly was in the last. When the affair was again renewed, Fenelon fell, the victim of his honesty; after which Madame de Maintenon, with that prudence which distinguished her, and to which she owed her long reign, appears to have resolved upon giving up the idea for ever. The king felt the merit of this resignation, and is said to have redoubled his attentions and repaid her by other gratifications.

It must not be supposed that the attention which the king paid either to her or any other woman, implies the ordinary meaning which we attach to gallantry. His attentions were purely selfish; they did not merely consist in formal demonstrations of respect; Louis XIV. was never known to hesitate where his own personal convenience was concerned. His hardness in this respect was extreme. At the time of his warmest attachment to his mistresses, he never regarded either the illnesses or the sufferings of any one of them: whether in a condition or not to wear without extreme inconvenience the full dress of the court, it mattered not; nothing could soften the rigour of etiquette. Pregnant, ill, not recovered from confinement—it was necessary to show themselves in full court dress—to be tightlaced and adorned, ready to go to Flanders or even farther—to dance, sit up, join the fêtes, eat, drink, and be merry—to be afraid of nothing—neither to suffer, or appear to suffer, from heat, cold, air, dust—and all this at the exact hour, and at the appointed place, without deranging or delaying the royal mechanism for

one minute.* He always travelled with his carriage full of women, his mistresses; afterwards his bastards, his daughter-in-

* These Memoirs would furnish us with an abundance of instances in confirmation of the truth of this statement. We shall satisfy our readers by quoting one, and not to interrupt the thread of our observations, will throw it into a note.

"The Duchess of Burgundy was pregnant: she suffered very much while in that state. The king wished to go to Fontainebleau, contrary to his usual custom, at the beginning of spring, and had intimated his intention. He wished to make his journies to Marly in the interim. His grand-daughter amused him exceedingly; he could not dispense with her; but so much moving about did not at all agree with a person in her state. Madame de Maintenon became uneasy at it, and Fagon (the physician) ventured to hint his opinion of its danger. The king, accustomed to put no constraint upon himself, and spoiled by having seen his mistresses travel about when they were pregnant, or scarcely recovered from confinement, and always full dressed, was annoyed at this. The representations as to the journies to Marly chagrined him, without, however, making him change his purpose. He merely twice deferred his departure, which had been fixed for the day after, and only went thither on the Tuesday of the week following, in spite of everything that could be said or done to dissuade him from it, or to obtain his permission for the princess to remain at Versailles.

"On the Saturday following, while the king was walking after mass, and amusing himself at the carp pond, between the chateau and the gardens, we saw the Duchess de Lude coming out on foot, and quite alone; there was no lady at the time with the king—a circumstance rather unusual in the morning. Conceiving that she had something pressing to communicate to him, he went to meet her; and when he was at some little distance, his attendants halted, and left him to speak to her alone. The tête-à-tête was of short duration. The duchess returned to the chateau, and the king came back towards us, and almost close to the carp pond, without saying a word. Every one of us saw what was the matter, but no one ventured to speak. At last the king, having reached the side of the pond, looked round at the principal persons of his suite, and without addressing himself to any one in particular, uttered, in a tone of ill humour, these words—'The Duchess of Burgundy has hurt herself.' Immediately M. de Larochefoucauld began to make exclamations, and M. M. de Bouillon, the Duke de Tresmes and the Marshal de Barfleur, to repeat them in a lower tone; after which M. de Larochefoucauld, repeating his exclamations, said that it was the greatest misfortune that could happen, as having already met with several disappointments, the duchess might perhaps never have any more children. The king, who had hitherto not spoken a word, all at once cut short his lamentations in a burst of anger. 'Even should that be the case,' said he, 'what is it to me? Has she not a son already? and if *he* were to die, is the Duke de Berri not of age to marry and have children? What does it signify to me whether my successor comes from the one or the other? Are they not both my grandsons?' And after a short pause he continued, impetuously, 'Thank God! the duchess's misfortune is over, since it was to be so; I shall no longer be thwarted in my journies and in every thing I wish to do by the representations of doctors and the chattering of matrons. I will go and I will come according to my own fancy, and you will leave me in peace.' A silence, in which you might have heard an ant move, succeeded to this sally. Our eyes were cast down; we scarcely ventured to breathe; every one remained stupified: even the domestics and the gardeners continued motionless. This silence lasted upwards of a quarter of an hour. "The king, leaning on the balustrade, was the first to break it, by some remark upon one of the carp: no one answered him. Afterwards he spoke to some of the domestics about the carp, but the conversation was not kept up as usual. No other subject was talked of but the carp; it completely languished, and the king went away some time afterwards. No sooner was he out of sight and we ventured to look at each other, than the meeting of our eyes said everything. Every one who happened to be there became for the moment the confident of each other's thoughts. We wondered, we were astonished, we were grieved, we shrugged our shoulders. Notwith-

law, and sometimes the Duchess of Orleans, and other ladies when there was room. In this carriage there was always great store of eatables, meat, pastry and fruits; and though he never ate anything himself between his meals, it was his pleasure that the ladies should eat. He had not gone a mile before the viands were produced; and appetite or not, ill or well, the poor women were bound to stuff themselves to repletion. He was affronted at want of appetite, and equally offended at an ungraceful mode of eating, and never failed to show his displeasure with a good deal of bitterness. He was equally inattentive to the feelings of his companions in every other respect; and a dismally ludicrous story is told of the sufferings of the Duchess de Chevreuse, which we could not repeat. The king was partial to air, and never feeling fatigue, heat or cold, always travelled with the glasses down, and was offended at any lady drawing the curtain against the sun; but the greatest crime of all was to be taken ill, or to faint—it was never forgiven. This of course was horrible slavery, and yet all repaid by the honour of riding in the king's coach. Madame de Maintenon contrived to avoid this disagreeable distinction. Under the pretence of decorum, she invariably started before him; and wherever it was arranged to stop, there he found her established precisely in the order and manner of Versailles. There were many other manifestations of selfishness from which it was impossible for her to escape. In whatever condition of health she might be, she was forced to go to Marly, frequently when in a state in which no other man would have moved a servant; and once she travelled to Fontainebleau at a time when her attendants expected her to die on the road. Whatever might be her state of health, the king visited her at his usual hour, and transacted all he had arranged, though perhaps she was in bed and in a fever. The king, as has been observed, was fond of air, and detested a hot room, and astonished at finding when he arrived all closed up, would immediately order every window to be thrown up, utterly regardless, probably thoughtless, of the state of the patient, and thus they would remain up to ten o'clock at night, when he went to supper. If he wished to have music, her fever or her headache were never attended to, and a hundred candles shone on her eyes whether she could open them or not. Need it be matter of surprise that

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standing the time that has now elapsed since this scene took place, it is constantly before my eyes. M. de Larochefoucauld was furious, and on this occasion not without cause; the first *ecuyer* was almost frightened to death; and as for myself I examined every personage with eyes and ears; and I was not sorry to find the opinion confirmed which I had long entertained—that the king loved and regarded no one but himself, and was to himself his last end."

such a man was deserted on his death-bed, and that the instant Maintenon saw he was beyond recovery she left him to die at leisure, and retreated to her sanctuary of St. Cyr, where she could hear the result without chance of inconvenience?

The death-bed of this extraordinary man is as fine a piece of acting as any other in his life; if any thing could have gone deeper than the external surface of form and etiquette, assuredly it would have been the last agony. But Louis died as he had lived, with all the grace and decorum he loved in his brightest moments. His several addresses to his different friends and attendants, and lastly to his heir, were distinguished by that neatness and propriety for which he was famous: in fact, so studied and so perfect is the whole scene, as described in the faithful pages of Saint-Simon, that it produces the effect of a well-acted play, and may almost be said to be affecting. If the combined efforts of a nation of courtiers could ever raise a man out of humanity, it was done in the case of Louis le Grand: yet here he is, a dying god, on his bed, discovering, as the film comes across his physical sight and at the same time drops from his intellectual vision, that his apotheosis has been a mistake. His only regret was that he had neglected the interests of his subjects. His advice to the little Dauphin, not to build, not to make war, but to study the interests of his people, was as much as to say, "take the precisely opposite course which I myself have followed."

He was long in dying; when he appeared at the worst the courtiers deserted his apartments, and flocked about the Duke of Orleans; when he rallied somewhat, the reaction was sudden and complete, and the duke left for a whole day without a visit from a single individual.

Among the votaries at the shrine of royal favour, the man whom we shall first pause upon, is the Duc de Lauzun.

The Duc de Lauzun was perhaps the most extraordinary character that the artificial heat of this court atmosphere ever encouraged in its superabundant and unnatural growth. The Duke de Saint-Simon and he married two sisters, and during the latter part of Lauzun's life (and it was a long one, for he lived to the age of ninety years) they were much together. The author of these memoirs was therefore well qualified, both by position as well as by perspicacity, to detect the peculiar characteristics of his connection.

The Duc de Lauzun was the third son of the Comte de Lauzun, Captain of the Hundred Gentlemen of the King's Household: in his youth he bore the name of Marquis de Puygilhem. He was a little fair man, of good figure, of a lofty and imposing

expression of countenance, without having agreeable features. When he came to court he was destitute of fortune, and was taken in by the Marechal de Grammont, his father's cousin-german, who at that time enjoyed the highest possible consideration at court, and was greatly in the confidence of Cardinal Mazarin and the Queen Mother. His son, the Comte de Guiche, introduced Puygilhem to the Comtesse de Soissons, at whose house the young king lived almost perpetually, and where Puygilhem quickly succeeded in attracting his good graces. The king gave him his regiment of dragoons, and soon after made him Marechal-de-Camp, and created for him the charge of Colonel-General of Dragoons. When the Duc de Mazarin, who had already retired from court in 1669, wished to get rid of his place of Grand Master of the Ordnance, Puygilhem was the first who had wind of it, and asked the king for it, who promised to give it him, but under promise of secrecy for some days. The day arriving on which the king had promised to declare him, Puygilhem, who had the privilege of the *grandes entrées*, went into a room between the council-room and that where all the court wait, and where no one enters during the council, to wait the coming out of the king from the council of finance then sitting. He there found Nyert, the first valet de chambre, in waiting, who asked him by what chance he came there. Puygilhem, sure of his affair, fancied he should gain a friend in Nyert, by communicating to him what was going to be declared in his favour. Nyert pretended to be delighted, pulled out his watch, and saying there was still time to execute something the king had ordered him to do, he ran as fast as he could up the little staircase where Louvois was at work in his bureau, told him that at the breaking up of the council of finance, Puygilhem was going to be declared Grand Master of the Ordnance, how he had learnt it, and where he had left the expectant.

The story so far is characteristic of the falseness and intrigue of courts: the sequel will exhibit the character of an individual.

Louvois detested Puygilhem for many reasons, and feared his influence in a post which gave him so many occasions of interfering in his own department of war. No time was to be lost. Nyert was embraced, thanked, and sent off as quickly as possible, while Louvois, taking some paper by way of excuse, descended, and found Puygilhem, and Nyert who had returned, in the cabinet already mentioned. Nyert feigns surprise at seeing Louvois, and tells him that the council has not risen. Never mind, says Louvois, I shall go in, for I have a matter of importance to communicate to the king which requires despatch. The king, surprised at seeing him, asks what he wants, rises, and goes to him.

Louvois draws him to the window, and tells him that he knows his majesty is about to declare Puygilhem Master General of the Ordnance, that he is waiting for him at the door with that object, and then submits to him that although his majesty is of course full master of his own gifts and graces, that still he (Louvois) thinks it only for the good of his service to represent to him the absolute incompatibility that exists between Puygilhem's temper and his own, and that it will be impossible to get on amicably with a man of his extreme caprice and haughty manners. Several other objections are enumerated by Saint-Simon, as mentioned by Louvois. One circumstance was enough to decide the king. He was extremely provoked to find that the secret was known to the man from whom of all others he wished to conceal it. He answered Louvois very gravely, that the thing was not done yet, and resumed his seat at the council table. When it broke up, the king went out to go to mass, and passed Puygilhem without saying a word. Puygilhem waited the rest of the day in no small astonishment, and seeing that the promised declaration appeared to be no more thought of, he spoke of it to the king, after his evening audience. The king answered that it could not be yet, and that he would see about it. The ambiguity of the answer, and the dryness of the king's manner, alarmed Puygilhem. He had the run of the ladies of the court, and was master of the jargon of gallantry. He went in search of Madame de Montespan, to whom he related his griefs, and begged of her to interfere and bring the matter to a point. She promised him her aid, and amused him in this manner several days.

Tired out with delay, and tormented with anxiety to discover where laid the impediment, he hit upon the most impudent expedient that ever entered the brain of man, and which is only to be conceived of a man of Lauzun's incredible audacity and indelicacy combined. The king was accustomed, at that time, to pay his visits to Madame de Montespan in the afternoon. Aware of this circumstance, Puygilhem, by means of an intrigue with Madame de Montespan's maid, (for nothing came amiss to him that served his purposes,) contrived to secrete himself under the bed of her mistress's apartment. In this position he was enabled to overhear their conversation, from which he learned that Louvois was the obstacle in his way, the mortification of the king at his secret having got wind, and his majesty's determination not to give him the Ordnance, out of spite. And then he heard all that was said of himself by both parties, and found that the lady who had promised him her good offices, did him all the ill turns that she could. A cough, the slightest movement, the least chance might have discovered the rash spy, and his fate would have been sealed. Much of his subsequent life was spent in the Bastille,

but for this offence he either never would have gone in, or never come out. Saint-Simon observes that this is a story which suffocates and horrifies at the same time.

The use which Puygilhem made of his knowledge was pretty nearly as characteristic as the adventure itself. When he got from under the bed he went and stuck himself at the lady's dressing-room door, to wait her coming out to go to the ballet. He presented his hand to lead her out, and asked her with an air of the most polished softness and respect, whether he could flatter himself that she had deigned to remember him to his majesty. She assured him that she had not failed to do so, and then told him all the fine things she had said to the king, and as he contrived to throw in a few incredulous interjections in order to draw her on, she repeated her assertions with many asseverations of their truth. As soon as she had finished he drew closer to her, and told her in her ear that she was a liar, a cheat, a swindler, and a strumpet; and he then repeated word for word the conversation she had held with the king. The effect of such a scene may be conceived. Madame de Montespan was so overpowered that she could not utter a word; she trembled from head to foot, could scarcely get to the ballet, and when there, fainted in the midst of the whole court. In the evening she told the king what had happened, and made no doubt but that it was the devil himself who had informed Puygilhem so exactly of their conversation. The king was extremely incensed at the insult Madame de Montespan had received, and not a little tormented to discover how Puygilhem had gained his information.

Puygilhem on his part was furious at having lost the place, and the king and his mistress were upon terms of no little embarrassment. At length Puygilhem, by means of his *grandes entrées*, seized the occasion of a tête-à-tête with the king to remind him of the Ordnance, and audaciously demanded that he should keep his word. The king answered that he was no longer bound to do so: that he had only given it under a promise of secrecy. Whereupon Puygilhem retired a few steps, turned his back on the king, drew his sword, and stamping on the blade with his foot, broke it in two, crying out furiously that he would no longer serve a prince who had broken his word so shamefully. The conduct of the king, on this occasion, was marked by what Saint-Simon calls the finest action of his life. There is undoubtedly in it a mixture of dignity, grace, and at the same time point, which often characterized the behaviour of this monarch. He instantly turned away from the offender, opened the window, threw his cane out of it, and after saying that he should never have forgiven himself for having struck a man of quality, left the room. The result is curious. The next day Puygilhem was arrested,

and sent to the Bastille; he, however, came out in a few days, having been prevailed upon to relinquish the Ordnance, and accept the charge of captain of the body-guards. Such is the wonderful force of unsubduable impudence.

The story of the attachment which Mademoiselle d'Orleans conceived for him, and the marriage which was only broken off by his own ill-timed punctiliousness, and would, if it had taken place, by her blood-royal and her immense wealth, have raised him above every subject in the realm, is well known by the account given of it by the lady herself in her Memoirs. He made his refraining from marrying Mademoiselle a great favour with the king, and his good fortune continued increasing, and advanced to a surprising height of prosperity and distinction, when all of a sudden, about a year after, on his return from Paris to Versailles, he was arrested, conducted to the Bastille, and afterwards to Pignerol. The cause of this reverse of fortune is likewise traced to the resentment of the mistress and the minister. Madame de Montespan had not forgotten the treatment she had received from him, on a variety of occasions, and the jealousy of Louvois was continually excited by Lauzun's success, and by the impudence of his rivalry.

Lauzun recovered his liberty, but not till ten years after, when it was purchased at an immense sacrifice by Mademoiselle, but he was never restored to his influence over the king's mind. For many years he was not permitted to come within five miles of the court, and ultimately only procured his return by his gallantry in safely escorting the Queen of James II. and her son from London to Calais, when that monarch was obliged to make his escape from England. This return was, to a man of Lauzun's character, one of triumph; adroit and able courtier as he was he did not fail to make the best use of his position between the two courts of St. Germains and Versailles. For the rest of his life he enjoyed great consideration and a munificent fortune, and lived the life, and had all the distinctions of a nobleman of the very highest class. He had the best table and the best house both at court and at Paris, and they were graced by the first society. But with all this, he was miserable. The familiar approach to the king was gone. With all Lauzun's capricious love of independence, his vanity, and his insolence, he was a courtier by birth, education, and habit, and to a courtier of Louis XIV. the idea of the king was all in all. It was like living without light to be without his favour, and having enjoyed his intimacy, to be deprived of it was to be struck blind. Such tricks can the force of habit play with the imagination of the strongest minds; the impression of received and undoubted public opinion scarcely ever fails to sink deep. The atmosphere in

which a man is born seems to colour his intellect, and the dye is too fast ever to be washed out. Sir Thomas More believed in witchcraft; Lord Bacon in the force of charms; and Lauzun in the magic of a king's smile. In order to regain it, he did many of the extraordinary things recounted by Saint-Simon, and what is more, his vexation at not succeeding led him into indescribable folly. He either fancied himself or pretended to be in profound disgrace, and every year he kept a sort of anniversary of his fall by some extravagant exhibition of madness. At these times he used to say his grief overcame his reason. He hoped to please the king by this refinement of flattery; the king only laughed at him. Nobody else, however, dared to laugh: Lauzun was the most formidable person about the court: his malice was as bitter as his wit was inexhaustible. His manners were reserved, measured, even gentle and respectful: from under this low and honied tone, however, sprung up sallies of the most piercing and overwhelming description, either for their extreme justness, their force, or their humour, and this in two or three words, and sometimes with an air of absence or indifference as if he was not thinking of what he said. A man so much feared had of course no friends. He was not only severe in words, he punished practically sometimes. In the execution of one of his schemes of regaining the confidence of the king, he went to Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to pick up some political connection among the foreigners of distinction who at that time resorted there, and whom he calculated on turning to account. Not succeeding, he resolved on visiting the army of Marechal Villeroy, then in the field (1705), where he was received with all the honours of war, as having commanded in chief the armies of the (French) king in Ireland. He remained three days with the army, which was in presence of the enemy. It was known that the king was desirous of a battle, and all the world, which is the way of the peaceable folk, seconded the king in his wish, for nothing is so gratifying to citizens at home as to hear of the spilling of blood. This was the reason of Lauzun's visit. The officers to whose care Villeroy had committed him, took him to see the enemy's outposts and showed him all in their power; he, however, so teazed them with questions, and was so anxious to know more than they could tell him, that out of spite, they carried him within musket shot, and ran the risk of being surrounded, thinking thereby to give him a fright. Lauzun, however, was the last man on earth to be afraid. He had, with all his ardour, that kind of cool courage which is so well acquainted with every degree of peril, that it can look on and discriminate the nature of every risk, as if the observation was carried on at the fireside. Instantly seeing through the de-

sign, he diverted himself with redoubling his questions, and took care to stop in every position which he knew to be most dangerous, so that he had the satisfaction of seeing several of them walking wide, and endeavouring to shuffle off. He only permitted them to withdraw, when he had thoroughly convinced them that they had mistaken their man.

On his return to court, every body got about him to learn the situation of the armies. This was what he had gone to see, and longed to tell. He acted his usual part of the reserved, the disgraced courtier, a forgotten neglected character, who could not see two steps before him. The day after his return he went to the Princess of Conti's, to pay his court to the dauphin, who did not like him, but who knew that he (Lauzun) detested Villeroy. Monseigneur put various questions to him respecting the position of the armies, and the obstacles which prevented them from engaging. The duke drew back, after the manner of a man who is resolved to be pressed; he did not conceal that he had been a great deal between the two armies, and very near the enemy's outposts, but contented himself with launching out in praise of the beauty of the king's troops, and the high spirits they were in at finding themselves so near the enemy, in such fine position, and on their eagerness to engage. "But why did they not engage?" Pushed at length to the point he wanted, "I will tell you," said he, "since you absolutely command me, that I have very exactly reconnoitered the fronts of the two armies, and the whole ground between them, and on their right and left. It is true there is no rivulet between them, and that I saw neither ravine nor hollow road either to get over or into, but there are other obstacles which I took a great deal of notice of." "But what on earth are they?" said Monseigneur: whereupon Lauzun began repeating over again the impediments which did not exist; at last, pushed to extremity, he drew his snuff-box from his pocket. "Remark now, Monseigneur; there is a thing between them which is exceedingly embarrassing for the feet—a growth of broom." "But how high?" "How high shall I say,—how high," he repeated, looking about the room for an object of comparison; "high—high," at length he said, "high, I do assure, *as this snuff-box.*" The dauphin burst into laughter, as it was intended he should; all the company joined: the story took, ran through the court, and soon arrived in town. The same evening it was told to the king. Lauzun had his triumph, and showed, in this way, his gratitude to Marechal Villeroy for all the honours he had paid him, and his own pique at having picked up nothing at Aix-la-Chapelle which answered his purpose.

One day, a short time before his death, when he was supposed to be dying, he called the priest to him who had been very assi-

duous during his illness, and who, as Lauzun knew, was stimulated to his extra exertions by his hope of a considerable bequest for the rebuilding of his church, and gave him a formal benediction, telling him that that was all he had for him. The Duke de la Force was present, a man whom Lauzun had always made his butt; to him he began making a grave speech of thanks and gratitude for his attention to him during his illness, and as he was the eldest of his house, beseeched him to give him his blessing. The Duke de la Force, with the priest beside him, was struck by the absurdity of the request, but at length complied; the pair were immediately dismissed and retired, the duke laughing, and the priest not a little mortified at the scene. Another day, when he was said to be very ill, Biron and his wife ventured on tip-toe to the door of his room, and keeping behind the curtains, contrived to get a peep at him; they were perceived in the glass. To Biron he was attached, but his wife, who was his own niece, and his principal heir, he detested, as he thought her mercenary, and her manners were disagreeable to him. Offended at this invasion of his sick chamber, which he attributing to avarice and a desire to ascertain whether he would soon be dead, he determined to make the parties repent, and to amuse himself at the same time. He began to pray aloud, in the character of a repentant sinner, to beg pardon of God for his past trespasses, and to hope that at least the goods which he possessed might serve to expiate his sins, and to promise that all should be left for pious uses without reserve, and to thank the Almighty for having left him this last means of escaping from the consequences of his iniquities. This prayer was uttered in a tone so penitent and with such apparent earnestness, that Biron and his wife never doubted for a moment that he was going to execute his design, and that they should be left without a penny. The sick duke sent for notaries, who drew up the will in the spirit of his prayer, and Madame de Biron was in despair. He, however, deferred adding his signature, and finding himslf getting better and better, never signed it at all. This comedy greatly delighted him, and he often laughed over it with some of his particular friends, on his recovery; for in spite of the strength of his disease, and his extreme old age, (he was ninety when he died,) he got quite well, and no signs of weakness seemed to remain. With all the external indications of poor health, he had a constitution of iron, and an appetite of inordinate vigour.

His long confinement in prison had rendered him enamoured of a gloomy solitude; he would retire from the best company in the world to his apartment, and indulge in moody reflections: this was his custom every afternoon. It had also rendered him suspicious. When a confessor was sent to him in prison, at a time when he was expected to die, he insisted upon having a capuchin,

only for the sake of the test of his beard, and when he came near him he laid hold of him and gave the beard a twitch as proved to him at least that it was not false, and that there was a probability that the priest was not a spy.

Of the very able and brilliant general, the Maréchal de Luxembourg, these Memoirs speak copiously; partly because he was the commander under whom Saint-Simon served his first apprenticeship in arms, but chiefly on account of a claim which the Duc de Luxembourg set up of precedence over sixteen dukes and peers of France, in right of the duchy he received through his wife. The importance attributed to this claim in these times it is hardly possible for us to appreciate; precedence and the trifling shades of rank are accidents which the more philosophical spirit of the present day leads men to speak of at least lightly, however in some instances they may stickle for them. But precedence in the court of Louis XIV. was the life and soul of the age, and if there was anything deemed worth the sacrifice of life or fortune, it was the privilege of standing higher, or being called up before another. In the details of this cause so variously and ingeniously pursued, there is nothing to interest a modern reader beyond the devotion with which it was carried on, the ability and rank of the parties who struggled through this contest about a shadow, and more especially the solemn importance attached to it by the able, the sensible, and upright Saint-Simon himself. The spectacle is humiliating; it leads a man to suspect the nature of his pursuits, assume what guise of respectability they may, and to be at last disposed to exclaim that all is "vanity and vexation of spirit."

The Duc de Luxembourg was named Bouteville: he was the son of the famous duellist, the Comte de Bouteville, who, when he was in exile at Brussels for having killed the Comte de Thorigny, had the temerity to return to Paris and fight Beuvron, the relation of Thorigny, whose second was Bussy D'Amboise, and who was killed in the rencontre. Bouteville, with his second and cousin, Rosmadec, failed in making his escape: both were beheaded on the Place de Grève, in 1627. Bouteville was of the family of Montmorency. The young Bouteville was born six months after the catastrophe which befel his father. His name, his talents and his ambition triumphed over obstacles which to another would have been fatal; features of a very repulsive cast and a figure which a hump before, and a very pointed one behind, had not prepared him for a career of gallantry. Nevertheless the spirit of intrigue, the confidence acquired from his familiarity with the great world, together with the habit of gaiety and debauch then in fashion, enabled him successfully to overcome the deficiencies

of his person. His countenance, moreover, when the eye had become accustomed to it, though it had that peculiar expression which distinguishes the deformed, won upon his friends, more especially when joined with the grace and brilliancy that seemed to mark his most trifling action.

The military career of Luxembourg was marked by alternations of idleness and victory: he seemed to have only to make an effort to triumph over his enemies. His *coup-d'œil* was extremely accurate; in the face of the enemy he was calm, deliberate, prudent; on the day of battle, full of confidence and boldness, and, at the same time, a coolness which enabled him to see and foresee every thing in the midst of the hottest fire and the most imminent danger. It was then that he was really great; in all other matters he was indolence itself. Play, and gay conversation with his intimate friends, and every evening private suppers with select friends, were all he seemed to care for: at them every thing was forgotten but gaiety, and if he was near a town, women were always added to the party. At such times he was inaccessible; he neither gave an order nor received a message, and however urgent, he was never interrupted. He lived to the age of sixty-seven, leading the same life, and acting as if he thought himself but twenty-five. At last, however, age, temperament, and conformation, combined to betray him, and he sunk in the midst of a most brilliant career.

Among the other generals of the court and the contemporaries of Saint-Simon, one of the most distinguished and remarkable was Maréchal Villars. His success, both in the field and court, have given him a name in history which shows how little history is to be depended upon for any thing except the rude outlines of events. The contemporaries of Villars saw the real man, and Saint-Simon has painted him at full length. Our character shall be true to the impression received from the Memoirs: it must necessarily, however, be condensed into a comparatively brief space.

The birth of Villars, in his time, when aristocratic distinctions were so highly prized, was not one to build a reputation upon: his father had risen from obscurity by his skill and courage in the use of the small sword, and had been retained in the houshold of, and seconded in their duels, some of the first nobility, after which he was employed at court, and was received chevalier of the order of St. Esprit. Villars, his son, is said to have received a piece of advice from his mother on which he invariably acted, and which probably proved of more service to him in life than the reputation of his father's courage, or the distinctions it acquired him. She said to him, "when in presence of the king talk continually of yourself:" a counsel which he religiously kept with his sovereign, and moreover extended to all his subjects, forgetting the second

part of her advice, which was "never to mention himself to any body else." Villars was a Thraso in speech, but he contrived to be so also in deeds: by the concurrence of lucky accidents he realized his most extravagant boasts, and no one was more lost in admiration at their accomplishment than himself: he could neither think nor speak of anything else, and as he was a complete repertory of plays and operas, and filled his discourse with quotations from them, the air of rhodomontade he gave to his whole course of action may be easily conceived. In fact, in his highest employments and greatest commands (and he rose to the highest the monarch had to bestow) he was nothing more or less than a strolling player ranting through his part, with this method in his madness, that he always took care to rant wholly on the subject of his own exploits. It may be supposed, that the man who had *eyes* only for his own deeds had a *heart* for nobody but himself, and but little love was lost; he had no friend but himself, and to serve that friend there was no depth of servility or baseness to which he would not crawl; he was never known to do any thing for another beyond paying an extravagant compliment, which was the coinage with which he used to repay all sorts of services; consequently, he had as few followers as friends: he maintained his consequence chiefly by the magnificent opinion he maintained of himself, and by the determination to spare no sacrifice of self-respect or indeed any thing or any body else to uphold his authority. As for the ordinary means of preserving an employment, attending to its duties, of them he was utterly reckless; they might perform them that would, all *he* was intent upon was to remain in the enjoyment of the dignity and the income of his charge: his magnificence was of a kind truly Gascon, for it concealed the most wretched avarice; and his rapacity was that of a harpy. During the war he would send out detachments with no other view than pillage, and has been known to direct the movements of an entire army with this sole view. He had heaped together piles of gold by the plunder of war, and, as he was utterly shameless, he would make a joke of the means by which he had amassed it. His love of gambling was unconquerable: for he was as lucky in the saloon as in the field: he always won. The stage was another of his passions, whether from a love of the drama or the loose women who are always connected with a theatre; with these people and their paramours he lived, and spoke their language. Not all his honours and great employments could keep him from this description of society, or from disgracing his old age by the most gross and indecent conversation, of which he made no secret. He was, in fact, utterly destitute of shame. With all this, he possessed some of the highest qualifications of a general. He had a toler-

ably just *coup-d'œil:* his greatest virtue was, however, that of masking his real intentions, and at the same time bringing up his forces to a particular spot, and at a particular moment; this is the great problem a general has to work: Napoleon solved it better than any one; Villars owed his success to it. It is made a matter of reproach to him, that he was utterly indifferent to every thing which respects the commissariat, the waggon train, the protection of convoys,—he left such matters to those who would care for them. In modern armies a commander-in-chief is almost relieved from such duties by means of responsible agents. Villars cared little about their responsibility; if they failed he threw the failure upon them; if they succeeded he took all the glory of success to himself.

In action he was cool, and his ideas clear; though, occasionally, he would permit his sanguine temper to triumph and get heated, thus involving himself in confusion and embarrassment. When he gave orders, they were couched in the most fulsome language to the party to whom they were addressed; he dwelt upon the esteem he had for the officer, and the confidence he felt in his exertions, but he committed nothing to paper, and went into no details—all was cloudy; if good came out of it, Villars was glorified; if evil, the agent was overwhelmed with the consequences of failure. His *personal* courage never fluctuated; not so his *mental* courage; as long as he was not invested with responsibility, there was no exploit too daring, no scheme too wild for him; but when he was placed at the head of armies, he grew chary of his laurels, and at times even allowed opportunities of exertion to escape him which ought to have been turned to account. In spite of the success with which he was generally attended, he failed to convince any one of his great services excepting the king and himself. It is probable that kings are placed, in respect of individuals, very much in the position of posterity; they are too far above them to see any thing beyond gross results.

The Memoirs of Villars, published under his name, bear every mark of having come from his pen; they are confused and bombastic; and even where he enters into minute details, they are almost entirely a tissue of fiction. The embarrassment which distinguishes his writings marked his conduct in council; he began with ardour, then wandered, and soon lost himself, until some charitable colleague assisted him in recovering the track and helped him out with the remainder of his opinion; and his confusion frequently arrived at that pitch that he would declare the exact contrary of what he evidently meant to say.

With all his own licentiousness and with that strange inconsis-

tency which distinguishes men, he was exceedingly jealous of his wife, whom he placed under the duennaship of his mother, whose undertaking was, never to let her out of sight. The Duc de Saint-Simon observes, that these precautions are always ridiculous, and by no means so successful as might be wished. As he directed his armies sometimes solely with a view to the amassing of wealth: on other occasions, he would change the whole plan of a campaign that he might have an opportunity of seeing his wife.

The first president of the Parliament of Paris, D'Harlay, was a man whose character will well repay the study. Saint-Simon, who hated him,—and he was generally both feared and hated,—has touched off his minutest peculiarities with a felicity animated by warm admiration of his talents and the deepest contempt of his character. The high office held by Harlay brought him repeatedly into contact with the king, and more especially with the aristocracy, with whom it was then the custom prevailing to *solicit* their own cause before the tribunal over which Harlay presided.

Harlay was a spare little man, but full of vigour and energy, with a lozenge-shaped face, a large aquiline nose, and vulture eyes, that seemed ready to eat every thing up and to pierce the very walls. His dress was more ecclesiastical than legal, for he carried every thing that was formal to an extreme. He was always full dressed, his gait stooping, his speech slow, studied and distinct, his pronunciation of the old school, his words and phrases the same: his whole manner was made up, constrained, and affected: an air of hypocrisy infected all his actions; his manner was hollow and cynical, his reverences were to the ground, and as he walked along, his dress rustled against the walls with a pretence of humility. His manner was always profoundly respectful, under which was clearly enough to be seen a spirit of insolent audacity: and though his expressions were measured and guarded, pride of some sort was sure to peep out, and as much contempt and sarcasm as he dared to show.

His conversation was usually made up of sententious sayings and maxims: always dry and laconic; he was never at ease himself and no one with him. He had a great fund of sense, great penetration, a vast knowledge of mankind, more especially of that class of persons with whom he dealt; he was well acquainted with literature, extremely learned in jurisprudence, and more especially in international law. His reading was general, his memory extraordinary; and though he studied a deliberate preciseness of manner, his quickness of repartee was surprising and never failed him. In all the intricacies of practice he was superior to the most dexterous practitioners. He had rendered himself so completely the master of the Parliament that not a single

member stood before him, but with the trembling humility of a pupil: he ruled all connected with it with the most absolute tyranny, turning and using them as he listed, and often without their perceiving it; and when they did, they were obliged to submit. He never suffered the slightest approach to familiarity on the part of any person: even in his own family as much ceremony was kept up as between the most perfect strangers. At table the conversation turned upon the most common-place subjects, and though resident in the same house, his son never called upon him without sending a message; when he entered, his father rose to meet him with hat in hand, ordered a chair to be brought, and took leave of him in the same manner. Harlay was celebrated for his dexterity in his form of "bowing out:" the instant he wished to get rid of any person, he began bowing them out from door to door, with so much affected humility, and at the same time with such determined perseverance, that it was equally impossible either to be offended or to resist. After he had uttered one of the cruel bon mots, for which he was remarkable, and many of which are preserved, he would instantly commence his "reverences" and not end until his antagonist was fairly driven from the field. He carried this formal mode of politeness to such an excess that he generally saw his victims into their coach, and the door shut upon them. On one occasion, the Duc de Rohan leaving him in great dudgeon at the manner in which he had been treated in an audience, as he was descending the stairs indulged in all sorts of abuse of the First President to his intendant, who accompanied him, when suddenly turning round, they found Harlay close behind them, bowing them out in the most reverential style possible. The Duke, quite confused, begged and prayed, and was quite shocked that he should give himself the trouble to see him out. "Oh, sir," said Harlay, "it is impossible to quit you, you say such charming things;" and in fact he did not leave him till he had seen him off in his carriage. The Duchess de Ferté, in the same way, as she was descending his staircase, called him "an old baboon:" she found he was close behind her, but hoped it had not been heard, for no change in his manner was visible. He put her into her carriage with his usual prostrations. Shortly after her cause came on, and judgment was quickly given in her favour. The Duchess ran to the President and overwhelmed him with her gratitude. He as usual plunged into his reverences, and was full of humility and modesty, till he caught an opportunity when all eyes being upon them, then looking her full in the face, he said, "Madam, I am delighted that an old baboon can do a favour for an old ape." The Duchess would have killed him on the spot; he, however, recommenced his reverences and bowed her out of

the place, in profound silence and his eyes upon the ground, until he had seen her into her carriage.

When the Jesuits and the Fathers of the Oratory were disputing, he wished to make up the quarrel without bringing it before the tribunals. He sent for the leaders of the two parties and tried to reconcile them; as he was taking leave of them, he said to the Jesuits, "my fathers, what happiness it would be to live in your society," and turning to the delegates of the oratory, "and, my fathers, to die in yours." His sayings were, however, not so remarkable either for their point or wit as for their comsummate audacity, their cruel triumph over every feeling of sympathy and consideration for another. He gloried in inflicting a blow which in defiance of all the laws of good breeding and in the security of his high and sacred position, laid his object sprawling in helpless humiliation.

Montataire, a chevalier of the Order of the Holy Ghost, who had married a daughter of the well known Bussy-Rabutin, was remarkable, as well as his wife, for being a great talker: they were also celebrated for their excessive litigiousness. They were once at an audience of the President, and began to talk of a cause which they had before him, as was the manner and custom of the time. The husband began to speak, but had not advanced far before the lady took the words out of his mouth, and proceeded to explain the business for him. The First President listened for some time; at length, interrupting her, he said to Montataire, "Is that your wife, sir?" "Yes, sir," said Montataire, not a little astonished at the question. "Sir," replied the President, "*I pity you*," shrugging up his shoulders with an air of compassion, and then turning his back upon them. Every body laughed: it was impossible to help it. The discomfited pair retreated in confusion.

Two counsellors, who had bought estates of the noble names of De Persan and De Croi, and had taken their names, as was customary with the nobility of the time, were announced at one of his audiences. He pretended not to know them, and as they were presented, bowed with his lowest reverence, but on rising, he looked suddenly in their faces, and pretended all of a sudden to recognize them; "Masks!" he said, "I know you."

He seems to have treated all such pretensions as an invasion of the ranks of the privileged order, and in the same light regarded even the assumption of their dress or costume. During the vacation, while he was residing at his seat of Grosbois, two young barristers called on him to pay their respects. They were attired in gray dresses, such as were worn in the country, with their cravats twisted and passed through the button-hole, after a

manner that seems at the time to have been fashionable, and which was, perhaps, an infringement on the etiquette of the court, or rather a departure from the costume of the bar. This shocked his cynical humonr. He called for a sort of equerry, looked at him, and then said to a groom, drive out this fellow, (alluding to the equerry,) who has the impudence to wear a cravat like these gentlemen here. The gentlemen, says Saint-Simon, were nearly on the point of fainting, got off as quickly as they could, and promised never to return.

The brutality of Harlay arose from his own wretched sufferings; he lived on the rack of a horrible temper; he was eaten up, not with remorse, but with what, at the present day, might perhaps be called indigestion. He suffered from a kind of madness, which, without interfering with his efficiency or his acuteness in the most intricate affairs presented for his decision, made him the terror and scourge of every person that had any thing to do with him. His natural talents were of the highest order, and yet he was destitute of every principle of honour; ambition, avarice, and even crime, were the stains of his life. He was proud, haughty, rancorous, spiteful, and even wicked by the natural promptings of his heart; he was hypocritical, and when there was need, grovelling and humble; in the commonest actions of his life, hollow and false; and yet in all matters of common business between Peter and James, he was scrupulously exact and just for the sake of his reputation; but let his interests, his passions, or even the air of the court or success there interfere, and no man was capable of committing more barefaced iniquity.*

Of all the interesting characters sacred to fame and history with which this voluminous work abounds, none is more attractive in all its forms than that of Fenelon. Man, in a state of society, by which we understand a being artificial to a certain extent, and under a despotic, a religious, and a refined reign, like that of Louis XIV., artificial to a point of extreme nicety, certainly never so nearly approached the model of perfection as in the instance of this great man. In the circumstances of his rise, in his fall, in his manners, in the tolerance of his spirit and the wonderful mode in which he combined the finesse of a courtier with the simplicity of a Christian, qualities are exhibited which require to be separately and minutely studied by one who would make himself master of this great character. Saint-Simon, as the bosom friend of the Dukes of Beauvilliers and Chevreuse, fast and faithful friends of Fenelon, to whom he owed his rise, and who, as long as he lived, remained his faithful and devoted inti-

* Vol. i. 305.

mates and disciples, had many and ample opportunities of knowing him well. His portrait and the anecdotes respecting him are certainly striking portions in a work, which is so rich in court-and-state human nature, that we do not know where to turn without lighting upon either a picture or a lesson. We shall not do wrong in endeavouring to do justice to the character of Fenelon by Saint-Simon in a translation, however difficult it may be to transfer the force and conciseness of the author to another language.

"This prelate was a tall spare man, of a good figure, pale, the nose large, the eyes full of fire and most expressive of sense and talent; I have never seen any thing like his countenance, and having once seen it, it was impossible to forget it. It was full of contraries. There were gravity and gallantry, seriousness and gaiety; it was as appropriate to the man of learning as the bishop, to the bishop as the man; above all, there shone forth in it, as in all the rest of his person, an air of perfect grace, decorum, delicacy, mind, and, more than any thing, nobleness. It required an effort to take your eyes from him. All his portraits are speaking, without, however, catching the exact harmony which reigned in the original, or the various delicate shades of character collected in his face. His manners corresponded with his appearance; his ease communicated itself to others; there were moreover, an air and a good taste that are only acquired by mixing with the best society and the great world, which diffused themselves over all his conversations; along with which a natural eloquence, gentle yet flowery, an insinuating politeness, at the same time noble and discriminative. An elocution, neat, easy and agreeable; every thing appeared, as it fell from him, clear and perspicuous; even matters, which in other hands would have been thought embarrassed and obscure. He seemed never to wish to appear a wiser man than the one he was conversing with; he put himself within the reach of his auditor, without letting him perceive it, so that the effect was like enchantment, and nobody could leave him, no one not try to return to him. It was this rare talent—and he had it to the highest pitch of perfection—which all his life bound his friends to him, in spite of his disgrace, and which in their dispersion brought them together to talk of him, to regret him, to wish for him, to attach themselves closer and closer to him, as the Jews sigh for Jerusalem, and to pine for his return, as that unfortunate people sigh and wait for the coming of the Messiah. It was in the character of a species of prophet that he had acquired that power over his followers, which, though exercised in all sweetness and gentleness, yet could bear no resistance. If he had returned to court, or entered the council, which was his grand aim, he would not long have suffered his coadjutors to remain as companions. Once at anchor, once without need of the aid of others, it would have been soon dangerous not merely to resist him, but not to maintain a constant condition of suppleness and admiration towards him.

"In the retirement of his diocese he lived with the humble and industrious piety of a pastor, and with the magnificence and confidence of a man who felt no pain at renouncing what others might suppose him

to regret. He had the air of keeping the world at its proper distance. No man ever had the passion of pleasing more than he: it extended to the servant as well as to the master; never did man carry it further, or with a more constant, regular, and continued application, and undoubtedly that man never lived who succeeded more eminently. Cambrai is a place of great resort and passage: nothing could equal the politeness, the discernment, the charming and agreeable manner, with which he received every body. At first he was shunned; he courted no one; gradually, and almost insensibly, the charm of his manner attracted a small body of friends; under favour of this little crowd, several of those whom fear had kept away, were glad to come and sow seeds, to be reaped in other times. From one to another the fashion caught, and every body went. When the Duke of Burgundy began to show himself, the prelate's court was still further increased, and really became an effective one when the duke became Dauphin. The number of persons whom he had welcomed, the quantity of those who had lodged with him in passing through, the care he had taken of the sick, of the wounded, who on various occasions had been brought into the city, had won the hearts of the troops. He was assiduous in his attendance on the hospitals, and among the officers, high and low; he would keep invalids at his palace for many months together, until they were perfectly re-established. While in the character of a true pastor he was vigilant in his care of their souls, and ready at the call of the meanest among them, and with his power of eloquence, and his knowledge of the human heart, so successful in gaining authority over their minds, he was not less attentive to their corporal wants. Subsistence and nutriment for the sick, delicacies for the fastidious, and even medicines, were brought from his abode in quantities; and yet in all this was an order, a method, and a care, that each thing was the best of its kind. At all consultations on critical cases he was sure to preside. It is absolutely incredible to what a point he became the idol of the soldiery, and how his name resounded into the very heart of the court.

"His alms, his repeated episcopal visitations many times in the year, which made him personally known in the remotest district of his diocese, his frequent preachings both in town and village, his facility of access, his humanity to the lowly, his politeness to others, the natural grace, which increased the value of every thing he said and did, made him adored by the people; and the priests, whose brother and father he called himself, wore him in their very hearts. And with all this art and this passion for pleasing there was nothing low, nothing common, affected, misplaced, he was always precisely on the right footing with every one. He was easy of access, and every claim upon him was met with a prompt and disinterested expedition; and all who held office under him throughout his extensive diocese seemed animated with the spirit of their principal."—vol. xii. p. 66.

Saint-Simon then goes on to describe with minuteness the daily habits and modes of life of this true bishop, and charms us by the description of the curious combination he contrived to make between the hospitalities of a prince, and the duties of a Christian pastor. The details are full of interest, and we would recom-

mend them to all such of our clerical readers as will condescend to study the character of a Catholic bishop, and adopt a model from another church; we regret that they run to too great an extent for our pages.

Equally instructive is the history of this extraordinary man's rise at court and his sudden banishment from it. The annals of theology contain no more instructive lesson than the history of Fenelon's connection with Madame Guyon, Madame Guyon's introduction to Madame de Maintenon, the intrigues of the Jesuit bishops, and the use they made of the king's mistress in bringing their machinations to bear.

It is to be lamented that Fenelon did not survive the king. If any man could have established a permanent and beneficial influence over the mind of the Regent, it was the Archbishop of Cambrai. The Duke of Saint-Simon himself was the person whose power, during the reign of the Duke of Orleans, was expected to be all paramount. A long intimacy had subsisted between himself and the duke, and when the latter was under the displeasure of the king, his uncle, when he was consequently abandoned by the whole court, and the subject of the most atrocious calumnies—calumnies, however, in those times, not impossible and scarcely improbable—Saint-Simon alone, of all the grandees of the court, continued on the same footing of intimacy and friendship that had been previously maintained: before the death of the king he had become his principal adviser, and when the regency was declared, might have been principal minister. He appears, however, to have shrunk from the cares and responsibility of a similar post, and contented himself with a place at the council board. His opinion and advice never ceased to possess great weight with the duke; but the mind of Saint-Simon was of too stern and uncompromising a cast to retain a permanent influence over a character like that of the Regent. Saint-Simon's independence, his aptitude for business, his plans of reform and amelioration, together with his strong aristocratic prejudices, probably more frequently rendered his advice importunate than acceptable, so that, after various fluctuations and disappointments, after intrigues against him and vigorous sallies in defence of his opinions, Saint-Simon accepted the temporary retirement of a ceremonial embassy to Madrid, and seems to have retreated into the character of a vigilant spectator and tried friend, who was called upon when others deceived or were not to be trusted. The intercourse between the Regent and our author was however permanent, and the intimacy and confidence on the part of the Duke of Orleans subject but to very slight intermissions. It was impossible, however, for a man of Saint-Simon's habits and sentiments to remain constantly in the

direction of a character like that of the Duke of Orleans. A much meaner instrument was better adapted to the purpose: and upon very different men from Saint-Simon must be thrown the extravagant measures, the unsettled policy, in short, the horrid profligacy, public and private, of the Regency. Saint-Simon was however sufficiently mixed up with it all to let us fully into the secrets of the reign.

The charge of the general falsehood of history, alleged so freely and perhaps so truly, is inapplicable to such a work as the one before us. Saint-Simon was not a *litterateur* collecting scattered notices of public events from inefficient authorities, and moulding the whole into some general idea of the order and succession of motives and actions cast in his own brain. When he writes of the men who influenced the transactions of his time, he speaks of persons he was in daily contact with, and in conjunction or opposition to whom he was himself concerned in the transaction of the most important affairs in the country. Were it necessary to produce instances of the light which such men throw upon the rude and shadowless pictures of history, we might instance the character of the Regent himself, which, till the publication of these Memoirs, has never been rightly understood. As we pass from page to page of the latter volumes, the monster of other writers vanishes, and the human being takes his place: his vices do not become less odious, but they are more intelligible: instead of being horrified by a phantasmagoria, now retreating into undistinguishable pettiness, now rushing upon and overpowering the imagination with the vastness and ugliness of its lurid proportions, we have presented to us the image of man, the likeness indeed of a fallen angel, but at the same time a being whose inconsistencies and excesses we can comprehend and arrange or account for, with whose misfortunes and disappointments we can sympathise, while we do not the less detest his enormities. He and his daughter the Duchess of Berri, as they are painted in the Saint-Simon gallery, are admirable studies for the moralist who would write on the education of princes. Cardinal Dubois, the Duke de Noailles, and all the other heroes of the Regency, are also drawn at full length. This portion of the Memoirs relative to and on the Regency, and that short period of the majority of Louis XV. which preceded the death of the Duke of Orleans, occupy rather more than seven volumes of the whole twenty-one, and are perhaps more replete with stirring incidents than the preceding part, but fall sadly below them in the dignity and ability of the historic personages of the former reign. On the death of Louis the government became one infamous scramble, and the persons engaged in the disgraceful hustle were fit actors in such scenes.

ART. II.—*Sturlúnga Saga edr Islendíga Saga hin mikla nú útgengin á prent ad tilhlutun hins Islenzka Bókmenta Fèlags eptir samanburd hinna merkiligustu handarrita er fengist gátu.* (The Sturlung Saga, published by the Icelandic Literary Society.) 4 vols. 4to. Kaupmannahöfn. 1817-20.

LITERARY Societies of Iceland! Literature in that land of eternal snows and storms—the land where humanity stands on the very verge of its extinction!—Literary societies in a country where the capital has not 200 inhabitants, and no town besides it one half the number! How strong must be the pinions of civilization when it can fly so far! how warm the social springs that can organize such associations in such and so scantily peopled a region! Little indeed has nature done for this remarkable spot of earth;—she flung an island into the icy ocean, vast indeed in extent, but desolate in character. And a cruel mother has nature been to this almost abandoned child. Time was when vegetation covered its surface, and fields and forests were vocal with Skaldic songs. The verdure has passed away, the songs are mute. Time has crushed the adventurous spirit of the Icelanders of old. There was a day when their chiefs and warriors went forth with their triumphant vessels "even to the middle sea;" there was a day when they taught the arts of poetry, of navigation and maritime war to the natives of the south. Who hears of Iceland now?

And yet Iceland is not quite forgotten, for a series of interesting English works have appeared from the year 1809, when Sir George Mackenzie and Professor Hooker turned their attention to the subject. Drs. Holland and Henderson have contributed valuable materials, and we propose to fill up some of the blanks which they have left, and to bring down the literary history of Iceland to the present time. We cannot but think the very situation of Europe's Ultima Thule (if Europe may claim her) must add to the interest of her literary story. Her icy and most appropriate name, her ever-burning volcanos and ever-returning earthquakes, her population showing fatal and extraordinary diminution under every new estimate; what fields are these for producing flowers of history or poetry! Look at the huge Iceland and see what a space it occupies on the world's map. Not very long ago it counted at least a hundred thousand inhabitants. Depopulated by time, which has more than once introduced frightful pestilence, there are now not half that wretched number. Their occupation is that of shepherds and fishermen, for the bitterness of the climate makes all agricultural labours vain or un-

productive. They are scattered over the wide wastes of the country, far distant, in huts and farms, and it was only in the year 1787 that any portion of the population was gathered into towns, if towns may be called the two spots where a few families have their abode together. These are Reikjàvik (Reikevig) and Eÿafjördür (Öfjord), and nearly half the inhabitants of these are Danes. Among them are a few merchants and artisans, and officers of the Danish government, some of Icelandic and others of Danish birth. The rest of the population of the island are of native origin, whose education has been almost wholly domestic, with the exception of a few clergymen and lawyers, whose incomes are miserably limited. Of the clergy, a very small number have ever quitted their native island; the others have pursued their studies in the schools of Skalholt and Holùm, where, till lately, instruction was given in theology, philosophy, history, geography and mathematics. After they had gone through the elementary courses of these schools, they were denominated students. A trifling portion of these visit Copenhagen to complete their course of instruction, but the great majority remain at home, pursuing the few occupations which give to the labours of man the daily bread of life, a boon most grudgingly conferred in this stormy and snowy land.

It might seem a fruitless task to seek for literary associations in so dark and distant a field. But learning has not denied its solace to Iceland in the 18th and 19th centuries. Few, indeed, are the Icelanders, and very far away, but they have kept alive the flame of knowledge, fed like the eternal lamp in the oriental sepulchre.

Harold the Bright-haired, the despot of Norway, had by his tyrannical acts forced many of the noblest men of Norway to fly from their country. They went forth adventurous wanderers, and spread themselves through many lands. Scotland, the Hebrides, the Orcades and the Shetlands received considerable numbers. Many, more hardy still, and more determined effectually to alienate themselves from the misrule of the tyrant, preferred the more distant and more desolate Iceland. This was the period of the first colonization of the island, and contemporaneous with it was the peopling of the Färo islands. Since then nearly a thousand years have run their course, for it was in 874 that these Norwegian pilgrims crossed the cold waters of the Northern Ocean. They established a commonwealth, or republican form of government, which in 930 was recognised by the whole of the inhabitants. Christianity was introduced among them in the year 1000, and universally received in 1016.

These democratic institutions led to remarkable intellectual developement, and saved the ancient Norseman's language, history, poetry, mythology and philosophy from destruction. Their government was a mixture of paternal influence with popular suffrage. It was a hierarchy built upon a commonwealth, and in this resembled most of the Scandinavian political institutions of the heathen times. The laws obtained the sanction of the general suffrages, and it would appear that these laws very nearly resemble one another through all the ramifications of the Scandinavian branches of the Gothic stem. Modified by Christianity, these laws were arranged and collected into a code in the year 1120. This curious specimen of early legislation, known under the name of *Grágás*, is now in the course of publication at Copenhagen, under the editorial care of Mr. F. W. Schlegel. This code is not wholly inoperative in Iceland even at the present time, and will afford matter for very interesting research and comparison between it and what is known of the remote legislation of the Anglo-Saxon and other Gothic races. But time and space would fail us to follow this subject into all its many ramifications, and still more to mark the history of the ancient literature of Iceland. The works of Drs. Holland and Henderson throw some light on this matter, though it was hardly to be expected that their information should be very varied or profound. We have limited ourselves to a very narrow orbit, and mean only to give some account of the literary associations or learned societies of Iceland.

The societies for the cultivation of letters which grew up in the middle ages cannot fairly be compared to any existing establishments, and, as a general observation, the social or associating spirit was weak in its efforts and inefficient in its results until far later times. The associations that did exist were either among kindred of blood, or community of religion. In Iceland, the greater number of colonists were allied to the families, or direct descendants of princes, noblemen, heroes, or skalds. In them the spirit of clanship, or the pride of family, was rife, and their union and intercourse with one another had for its object the preservation from oblivion of the achievements or the songs of their particular races. They met to talk over the deeds of their ancestors, and to encourage their children to heroism by recounting to them the feats heroic of other times. This, in fact, was the great subject both of parental and of pedagogical instruction. Oral lessons were the habitual mode of communication, while Runes, whether engraved on wood, metal, bone or stones, were sparingly used, at least in the more remote periods; yet there were cases where

such record was the almost prescriptive right and usage of families, who had thus established between them a certain bond of union. Such was that of the old *Hallúr* of the *Haukadal*, an estate lying close to the celebrated Geyser on the one side, and on the other to the wild mountainous country. He was one of the most illustrious lovers of literature, whose descendants, Teit, Are, Frode, Gusur, and others, still preserved the reputation of their ancestor. From these, and Sæmund Frode, who established the school of Odda, the illustrious Snorre Sturleson descended, whose fame was partly shared by his brother's sons Olaf Thordsen and Stùrla Thordsen. To these distinguished men we owe the composition and preservation of the Edda and the most remarkable of the Northern Sagas. Many of the monks, as we have hinted, laboured in the same vineyard, and with the same success, among whom the Benedictines of the Thingeyre monastery are most remarkable, especially the Abbot Karl, with Gúnlög, Oddur, and other of the regular clergy.

The subjection of Iceland by the king of Norway in 1264 had a fatal effect upon the literary spirit of the island. It destroyed alike the influence and the labours of those family associations we have spoken of, while it corrupted, degraded and impoverished the clergy. It had an equally disastrous effect on the growing commercial spirit of the country. And it seemed as if all misfortunes were leagued against the devoted Iceland, to overwhelm it beneath the pressure of associated evils. A succession of most wintry seasons, the drift-ice of the northern pole, the bursting forth of new volcanoes, and, worst of all, the all-ravaging plague, invaded the devoted land as if with unanimous purpose of desolation and destruction. A dreary cloud overshadowed Iceland, and when the darkest of the misery had passed away, the people who were left seemed to have lost all that once characterized their race. There is a long epoch of darkness, which for centuries promised no redemption. The Lutheran reformation in 1550 led to the overthrow of all the convents, and to the loss of many valuable national manuscripts, whose loss at that period there seemed no one willing to prevent, or even to deplore. Of the works of that time a large quantity have since been destroyed by fires, shipwrecks and other calamities. In the middle of the following century some interest was awakened in behalf of the too-long neglected Iceland and her literary remains by Olaf Worms. His researches and zeal were efficiently seconded in 1660 by Frederick the Third of Denmark, whose royal encouragement elevated to distinction studies which Olaf Worms dragged forth from oblivion. And to the names of Danish kings

who have specially patronised the Icelandic literature, that of his present majesty, Frederick the Sixth, should be undoubtedly added, and occupy a high and honourable place.

In the year 1760, a society was formed in Iceland on the model of those which are now so common in different parts of Europe. But its workings were secret and its name *The Unseen*. With two exceptions,—Hafdar Einarson, rector of the Latin School of Holùm, and author of the *Sciagraphia historiæ literariæ Islandicæ*, and the liberal Danish merchant, Soeren Pens, who was settled in Iceland, and who undertook to defray the cost of the publication of the work which the society issued—with these two exceptions, the members of that society are now unknown. This work is the old *Konúngs Skuggsia* (Speculum Regale, or Royal Mirror, Copenhagen, 1768, large 4to.) of which Einarson had charge of the text and a Latin translation, though the edition owed much to the care of other individuals, and especially to John Erichsen, who wrote the Danish version, and added many notes. The whole is a remarkable production, and with the exception of a few law books, is the only printed work written by a Norwegian in the old Scandinavian or the modern Icelandic, as his native tongue. In this respect it is almost unique, for though there are a number of Norwegian diplomas of the same character, they are of later date, and the Abridgement of the Ancient Norwegian History, which exists in the ancient dialect, has never been published.

It would be vain to endeavour, with our remote and mortal eye, to trace the proceedings of the Invisible, seen only in their works, and these works are now rare and almost unobtainable. Of the *Konungs Skuggsia*, Finsen's Latin Dissertation and Erichsen's Danish Introduction give translations of the original text. That text, we believe, may pretty safely be attributed to a period between 1185 and 1202, the reign of the great King Sverrer, though there is no reason to believe the monarch himself to have been the author; the work was, however, probably produced by his command, or at least under his auspices. The author must have been an individual who had filled some office at court, though in the later part of his life he retired to his property in the most northern part of Drontheim. The volume is in the form of a dialogue between himself and his sons, in which they receive instructions from him in the following topics. 1. The manner of life and usages of merchants, with much information of use and of interest to them.(*a*) Decorous and prudent conduct of seamen and men of business.(*b*) Necessity of arithmetic, astronomy, knowledge of sea currents, of the daily progress of the sun and the common course of the winds in the

different seasons.(*c*) Information respecting Iceland, distinguishing what is fabulous from what is really remarkable.(*d*) Other particulars respecting Iceland, and finally,(*e*) Extraordinary and authentic particulars respecting Old Greenland, of which a great part appears unvisited and unknown. In this are some curious specimens of zoological knowledge, particularly respecting the whale fish of the Icelandic and Greenland seas. This part contains particulars of a stony morass in Norway, and of the snow-shoed travellers of that land, and of their long summer days and winter nights. 2. The manner of life and customs of courtiers, and especially of the king as chief of the court; of the manner of government and usages of the palace—of the offices of the court and how best to attain them—of court ceremonies—of every species of weapon and war machines for sea and land combat—on the fine arts—of virtues and accomplishments—of the king's honour, religion, power, wisdom, love of justice, and science of government. Then follows a dissertation on the sacredness and solemnity of the right of protection (jus asyli) in the churches; on civil and ecclesiastical authority, with the limits of each, and the lawful jurisdiction of the clergy. These latter particulars were developed in a continuation of the work which has not escaped the destructive power of time; nor is it known whether the author accomplished another undertaking of which he speaks, having for its object to describe the life of the peasant, or countryman, in all its details. Alike to us now whether the latter was accomplished or not; that which has been done and is lost, is as if it had never been done. And if an additional regret falls upon the ravages of time, that regret is as idle as if it mourned over unaccomplished purposes and defeated intentions.

But of what is left to us we cannot refrain from giving a specimen or two, merely saying, that the Latin translation is very agreeably but very unfaithfully written. There is a great charm in being transported, as this book at once transports us, into the Scandinavian world at the end of the twelfth century. Thus does our author introduce his subjects:—

"I turned over in my mind men's different modes of life in their different stations; I industriously examined the manners and means of existence of every class; I saw great multitudes journeying in the highways of immorality, and sadly weary therein. There were those who were tired with their travel, and had lost their strength in endeavouring to remount the mountains' side; they could not find the path, not even that which would lead them back again to the highway."

It is to discover an outlet from difficulties such as these that the author introduces the father giving his paternal counsels of

prudence. The son, perplexed in his choice, desires to try the different routes, in order that he may form an estimate of all, and make an appropriate selection. The kind and prudent father consents to gratify his son's earnest wish to track the many perilous and painful ways, but gives him wise counsel in the shape of condensed apophthegms. "There were also present," says the author, "sundry distinguished and thoughtful persons who listened to the conversation, and entreated that it might be recorded in a book and saved from oblivion, for the instruction of many more." "And he," says the author farther on, "who will hear or read this volume need not be told what was the author's name or profession, in order that he may fling its counsels aside out of envy, hatred, or scorn to the writer:" and then, appealing to the friendly indulgence of his readers, he adds, "not from arrogance, but out of pure beneficence have we laboured—beneficence towards all and each to whom such instruction as we can give is acceptable."

In the beginning of the work the father thus addresses his son:—

"A great philosopher has said, 'To fear God the Almighty is the beginning of wisdom,' and shall he not be feared as an enemy but also as a friend, according to the answer of the Son of God to him who asked his council, 'Thou shalt love God with all thy heart, and with all thy strength.' And though God is to be loved above all, so is he also to be feared when a man feels in himself a tendency to evil, for such desires must be controuled by the fear of God, whether or not we are influenced by the fear of man; and he who has learned this, and acts upon it, possesses the truest wisdom and the highest bliss. This law must be the guiding star of every station, whether courtier or peasant, merchant or mariner—to all it is equally needful."

The young man expresses his desire to learn the science of commerce and navigation, and not, for the present at least, to seek his fortunes at court: to which the father answers, that though he himself has been more of a courtier than a merchant, he will not resist his son's wishes, as the worthiest men, he adds, are often engaged in the pursuits of business.

"But you must well understand," he continues, "the distinction between the true merchant and the self-styled merchants, who carry on dishonest practices both in buying and selling. The true merchant is one who exposes himself to many dangers—now on the sea, now in heathenish lands—and almost always among unknown people. He must seriously consider whither he ought to direct his thoughts, in order that his affairs may be prosperous. The ocean should witness his docile promptitude and persevering gentleness—wherever he tarries, in commercial towns especially, he should exhibit modesty and meekness, and win the kind affections of all people. He must have no noisy or trou-

blesome companions—he must rise early—he must attend the morning mass at church, and seek the favour of Heaven by psalms and prayers. After thy night's repose go forth to thy business. If the scene is new to thee, then is thy special prudence needful, and thou must study the manners and habits of the merchants, those who have the most honourable name and fame. Take care that thy wares, whether thou buy or sell, be honest and undamaged, and thorough be thy examination *before* thy bargains are closed. Seek witnesses to all thy contracts—discreet and honourable witnesses. Settle thy bargains, if that may be, before thy morning or mid-day meal, and, having settled them, prepare thy board with white linen, wholesome food, and comfortable drink. Keep a good table if thou art able, and when thy meal is over, take a short rest or a pleasant walk, in order to keep thy spirits cheerful. Inform thyself as to the business that other merchants are doing, what new merchandise is arrived which thou mayest be desirous of buying. Returned home, examine and take good charge of thy purchases, and see that they are not subject to loss or damage while under thy roof. If thy wares get injured, and it is necessary for thee to get rid of them, show the defects openly and honestly, and make the best bargain thou art able, lest thou be deemed a cheat. Set a fair price upon thy goods, not higher than is just, and thou wilt not be deemed a higgler (*mángari*, literally monger,) and let not thy wares remain long on hand, as it is merchant-like to be active in selling and in buying, and in making many profits, and devote thy hours of leisure to study. Learn knowledge from books, and especially law books. In these last inform thyself thoroughly, and while thou art a merchant there is none of them so important to thee as the *Bjarkeij* law.* For when thou art well acquainted with the laws, not only wilt thou protect thyself against injustice from others, but secure thyself against illegal dealings towards them. But though thou art called upon especially to study the laws of other countries, thou must not forget to become acquainted with their manners and usages, and specially in the places where thou makest thy abode. And if thy knowledge is to be perfect, thou must study all languages, especially the Latin and Welsh (Provençal), which are the most widely spoken, yet must thou not forget thy mother-tongue.

"Accustom thyself to a busy and wakeful life, but not so as to injure health by over exertion. Keep aloof from sadness, for sadness is sickness of soul. Be kind and gay, equable not changeable. Avoid evil speaking, and give good counsel to him who will accept it. Seek the company of the best men. Keep thy tongue carefully, it may honour, it may also condemn thee. If thou wax angry, speak little, and that little not vehemently. Men would give gold sometimes to buy back a passionate word, and I know of nothing that so destroys unity as the exchange of evil language, especially in the moment of strife; and there is no nobler, no higher power than that by which a man can keep his own tongue from cursing, slandering, and other foolish prate. There are other things to be avoided like the fiend himself, as fulness, i. e.

* The Bjarkeij law is the ancient commercial and maritime code of north-western Europe.

excess, gaming, dice, wagers, whoring, and other excesses. These are the roots of many more evils, and, unless great care is taken, will hand thee over to great shame and sin.

"When thy capital amounts to a considerable sum, divide it into three parts. Invest one-third with honest and able merchants, who abide in the best trading places; the other two-thirds divide in different plans, and employ in commercial journeys, for thus it is not likely that in any case all thy fortune should be sacrificed. But if thou hast amassed very large stores of wealth, then employ two-thirds of it in the purchase of land, the safest of all possessions both for thyself and thy family; and thus, if it please thee, thou canst employ the other third in thy wonted trade; but when thou art satisfied, when thou hast seen the manners of foreign lands, and undertaken many voyages and trading journeys, thou mayst withdraw. Yet remember all thou hast seen both of good and evil, the evil that thou mayst avoid it, the good, to profit by it, not alone for thy own benefit, but for the benefit of all who will be counselled by thee."

Surely these are words of wisdom, and the old Icelandic merchant who taught such lessons as these between six and seven hundred years ago is entitled to some reverence now.

The author gives a poetical description of summer winds and winter storms, which Finn Magnusen published in 1810 in Danish Iambic verses, under the auspices of the Royal Society for Norway's Welfare.

Of Ireland the father gives the following account to his son:

"Ireland is nearly the best of all the countries with which we are acquainted, though it does not produce vines. It is in the temperate zone, and has no intolerable heat in summer nor cold in winter, and the oxen and sheep are in the open field the whole year through. It is said that the people who inhabit this country are fierce, murderers, and ill-bred—yet none of the many saints that have been among them have been ever sacrificed."

Among the whalefish of the Greenland and Iceland seas, the author introduces the monster so well known to fame, but not even professed to be *ex viso reperto* by him—the Kraken monster, as big as a good-sized island. He calls him *Hafgúfa*, which being interpreted is sea-mist or ocean-haze—a not unfit name for so misty, mystic and mythic a creature—and it seems with such appearances he was frequently confounded, probably without them was very seldom seen. To the Norwegian stories respecting the Kraken Pontoppidan has given sufficient currency. Modern Icelanders call him *Lyngbak*, in Danish *Lyngbag*, in German *Heyderücken*, literally *Heath-back*, denoting that heath-shrubs (making, no doubt, the same mistake as the rest of the world, and deeming the creature to be no other than "real property,") settle on his dorsal territory. Our author's credulity is not of

the overflowing sort—for he says, the *Lyngbak* very seldom approaches the fish banks on the shores, and he never heard of one being captured alive or found dead—that he is very rarely seen, and when he is, he looks extremely like a streak of land. Hence he opines that not more than one (perhaps two) of these monsters dwell in the abysses of the sea, and doubts whether they ever breed. The account of the mode of feeding adopted by the solitary wanderer is very curious, and to us novel, though by no means distinguished by good manners. He sometimes vomits forth an enormous quantity of stuff, and countless myriads of fish rush to devour it. When the congregation is most crowded, Master Heath-back draws in his breath, and opens his wide throat, into which the waters rush in stupendous torrents, carrying with them the tremendous shoals of fish which had been attracted to the neighbourhood. The torrents rush in till the monster is satiated, and then he closes his mouth. It may be naturally supposed that the stories of the Kraken are a repetition, or reflection, of those of the immense sea-serpent of the Eddaic mythology; the said serpent has of late years, it would appear, crossed the Atlantic, and has come to tell Brother Jonathan his history, who, according to newspaper paragraphs, seems willing to give him a very fair reception.

Of Iceland he draws a melancholy picture. It is almost uninhabitable for the human race, he says, on account of the ice which covers so large a portion of its surface. Not only is its iron cold nearly intolerable, but it is visited by the huge floating icebergs from the Greenland coast. It is tormented with subterranean fires and fearful earthquakes; he calls it a dead fire that feeds upon stones and rocks, which it converts into liquid lava as if they were soft wax. He believes these fires to proceed from the ancient abyss of death, and to be intimately connected with the flames of hell. He speaks of the burning mountains which throw up their waters to the skies, and turn whatever they moisten to stone. The boiling gulf—the volcanic craters—the eternal glaciers—he takes to be the scenes where the souls of perdition carry on their struggles, and are suffering the penalties of sin—a notion pretty extensively spread in Northern Europe during the middle ages; while in the South similar opinions were formed of the Sicilian Ætna. The devil himself is supposed to fan and nourish the hidden fires, while his progress was marked by eruptions and earthquakes. The Edda, an earlier record, ascribes earthquakes to the terrible Loki, the Satan of Scandinavian mythology; a similar power is attributed to the warlike movements of his son Yörmungandar, or Midgardsorm, the monstrous sea-serpent that girdles the

world, and holds his tail in his mouth to make a sphere-encircling belt. Similar traditions of his countrymen of the heathenish age the Venerable Bede records in his book *De ratione Temporum.* "Dicunt habitationes nostras vicinas esse ori Leviathan, qui dum haurit fluctus terra apparet, et dum remittit, obruitur, (Is) terram complectitui tenetque caudam in ore suo, qui aliquando sole exustus nititur illum comprehendere, sicque indignationis ejus motu terram quoque moveri. Haurit quoque aliquando immensitates fluctuum ut etiam omnia maria sentiant in reddendo inundationem, et inde terræ moveantur." The oldest Icelandic Bibles give to the Leviathan the Mytho-Eddaic name of *Midgardsorm.* Loki's monster children followed the sun with the purpose of devouring him.*

He reports of Greenland that it is the farthest land of the globe towards the north, and that in its neighbourhood is the sound through which the great ocean rushes, which surrounds the world, visiting the coasts of all other countries. Can this have reference to Lancaster Sound?—for it is perfectly certain that Scandinavian settlers reached a high latitude in Danish Greenland. Not long ago a stone was found in latitude 73° bearing a Runic inscription in the old Norwegian or Icelandic language, with the date of 1135, on which both Rask and Finn Magnusen have made a report in the fourth volume of the Danish Antiquarian Annals, (1826, second part.)

In ancient times, says the author, the court was the great fountain-head of good manners, and it ought to continue so. It is not a little interesting to get possession of the notions of a Norwegian courtier who lived nearly 700 years ago, as to the proper refinements, the delights, the duties of a courtly life. His instructions as to the best means of winning the grace of the monarch without failing in official or moral duties, we have not space to insert here. He informs us, however, that the *hirdmen,* who were the most distinguished officers of the court, were not necessarily of aristocratic or noble family, but in many cases chosen on the ground of their merits. He deems the courtly life, the light set on a hill, not to be hidden, but to blaze forth in distinguished graces and virtue; the model of urbanity, propriety, sagacity, and morality; and this especially, as the eyes of intelligent ambassadors from other courts are constantly on them, who will report their good and evil doings through the world, and judge of every thing else by what they witness in the

* Finn Magnusen's Lexicon Mythologiæ Borealis (Havniæ, 1828), of which an account appeared in the seventh Number of this journal.

neighbourhood of the king. The reputation of the great will then, he says, descend to the small, who become objects of horror or of sport and shame. Of the "meetings of kings" he has a most superb idea. They should come, he says, with their magnates, their archbishops, their yarls (earls), bishops, knights, vassals. And let them not forget that their misconduct flings disgrace upon their king, to whose account it will always be transferred, since the world will say if he do not approve of the misconducted man, why, why did he choose him? (And we venture to say in this parenthesis, that the world would be right.) But if the king *do* look about him, and detect the false courtier in his misdeeds, then indeed may he be flung from his seat of honour, and perhaps be visited with ignominious death. "So," saith the sage, "avoid thou, my son, this horrible danger, when thou goest to court to seek thy fortunes." A few of the maxims which the old man lays down, we will give in a verbal translation.

"I will give thee, son, some of the most important instructions as to the manners of the court, which will be useful when thou goest to take thy firm-stand there. The beginning of all wisdom is the fear of the Highest—that fear never let go out of thy heart. God must thou love above all things, and next to him love all virtue. Accustom thyself habitually to equity, justice, and moderation. Think of thy last hour and avoid all slander. Remember that the life of man is short, but his memory is long, and that we live again in the opinions of those we leave behind us; it is much to ascertain whether words of good or of evil will be our portion after our death. The multitudes are like beasts—they fall into the pit, and no one comes to ask whether they behaved bravely or basely in the world; but man has a nature superior to this, a nature to which beasts contribute a portion of enjoyment. Man is formed to be the glory of this and another world, if he struggle to obtain it; and it is his duty so to turn his mortal existence to account that his deeds and the memory of his good deeds may live when he has ceased to live. And this is more especially the obligation of kings and of high appointed men."—"And as it particularly becomes kings to seek truth and wisdom, so should they display them with gentleness and kindness, and when reposing on their beds to think of their kingdoms and their subjects, and how they can best be served and governed; how the mighty may be prevented from oppressing the mean, and the mean from improper rebellion against the mighty, so that each may preserve his proper station, and right be preserved in all—that weak pity do not step in between crime and its fit punishment, for punishment must follow crime, yet let not that punishment be cruel or unjust. These thoughts are suited to the kingly bed of rest, in order that his daily actions may not be hasty, when the cares of his people require all his attention."

About 60 pages of the book are devoted to the description of

the sundry weapons of war used in the middle ages. The art of war was one of the favourite studies of the court.

At much greater length is the art of government described. This part consists of more than 300 pages, and the ethics of the court are decorated with sundry interludes from Gospel history, and various illustrative allegories. Among the episodes is a sort of poem entitled *Divine Wisdom*, which has been translated by Professor Finn Magnusen into Danish Iambics, of which the conclusion is as follows:—

> "Where shall he find a hiding place,
> Who seeks to hide himself from me—
> Who fill the whole extent of space,
> Dive into every depth profound,
> See every mote—hear every sound,
> Know every thought—where *can* he flee?"

Need we apologize for saying so much of this remarkable production, this visible creation, or rather resuscitation of the Invisible Society, for which the literary world owes a great debt to Erichsen and Finsen.

They were not, as we have said, members of the Invisible Society, but they were among the founders and most zealous labourers of a society established in Copenhagen in 1779, whose services to literature have been very great, and whose title is, in Icelandic, *Hit Islenzka Lærdoms-Lista Félag*, in Danish, *Det Islandske Literatur Selskab—i. e.* The Icelandic Literary Society. The above-mentioned John Erichsen (Icelandic, Jón Eyricksson), was chosen its president, and became the principal mover of its literary efforts. Two young students, Olav Olavsen, (living still as professor in Kongsberg, Norway), and Thorasen Liliendal, who died in his early days, were the earliest projectors of the institution. Twelve Icelanders, all of them university students, formed themselves into a committee, each undertaking to frame a code of laws, inviting the co-operation of the Icelanders resident in the Danish capital. Erichsen was chosen president by their unanimous suffrages; he did honour to the election, and devoted himself with unwearied zeal to the objects proposed. The code proposed by a young student, named Sander, (who died soon after), was adopted, and published in Danish and Icelandic the following years. Its purpose was declared to be the spread of learning and useful knowledge in Iceland, especially connected with agriculture, manufactures, and the arts—the preservation of the purity of the Icelandic (or as it is here called, Old Northern) tongue. Every ordinary member was bound to furnish some appropriate composition in Icelandic.

The pecuniary means of the society were small, yet they were enabled generally to publish one volume a year. Though by no means opulent, Erichsen took upon himself a large portion of the ordinary expenses of the society.

John Erichsen died in 1787; his death was a sad blow to the society, and to Iceland and Icelanders—for never had more of activity, generosity, and aptitude, been blended in one individual character than they were in his. It was not easy to replace him, nor was the choice which was made a happy one. Lauritz Andreas Thodal was made president, though not an Icelander, and only imperfectly acquainted with the language. He had held high offices in Iceland, and his position in society would, it was supposed, be of great use to the society. His election was the more remarkable, as a very eminent Icelander, the father of the lately deceased Thorlacius, a justice, counsellor, and rector of the Metropolitan School at Copenhagen, could hardly have failed to be present to the minds of those interested in the well-being of the society. Thodal's insufficiency in the Icelandic language led to a sort of Danicizing its character: a modification of its laws introduced the Danish into many of its proceedings. This did more injury to the national character of the society than it reaped of benefit from the protection the King of Denmark threw over it, by calling it Royal, a title, by the way, which had been offered by Guldberg, the then minister, during Erichsen's presidency, and which Erichsen declined until it should have done something to prove itself worthy of the honour.

Fourteen octavo volumes were published by this society; their title is, *Rit þess Konunglega-Islenzka Lærdómslista felags.* They contain a curious variety of valuable matter, and as there nowhere exists any table of contents, and we deem those contents of considerable importance to Icelandic students, and perhaps of interest to the general reader, we have arranged the whole under the heads of the different authors, remarking only that the Arabic numerals refer to the volume in which the article is to be found.

I.—*John Erichsen.*

1. On Salt and its Preparation.—On the Whale Fishery.
2. On Dolphin Catching.
3. On Salmon and Herring Fisheries.
6. On the Recovery of Intoxicated Persons, and of those Frozen.

II.—*Olaf Olavius,* Chamber-Secretary and Custom-House Collector at Skagen in Jutland, Author of Travels in Iceland, A Description of Skagen, &c.

1. Icelandic Nomenclature of Plants, Fish, and Birds, on

the Linnæan System.—On the *Lagvad*, an Instrument used in Isefiörd (Iceland) for catching Sharks.

2. On the Mode of Preparing Flounders for Shipment in Jutland.—Comparison between the Fisher-boats and Fisheries of Mantrand in Sweden, with those of Jutland, Iceland, and North America.
3. On the Eel Fishery.—On Bird Catching at Drángey, in Iceland.
8. On the *Bundraad* of the Danes, or *Sÿnkeröte* of the Norse, a net for fishing in the deep.
9. On the New Legislation respecting Iceland's Commerce.—On the Grasses and Fodder of Iceland.

III.—*John Olafsen*, of Svefneyum, better known by his Latinized name of *Hypnonesiensis*, an Oriental scholar, and learned in Northern Archæology, the brother of the poet, and himself the author of the work on the Art of Poetry in the Ancient Norse. Some other works of his were destroyed while printing, during the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807. He died in 1811.

From 1 to 6, Icelandic Translation of Isaiah.

IV.—*John Johnsonius*, the Editor of several works published by the Arnéan Committee, to which he added the Latin notes. He died in Iceland, having been appointed receiver of taxes there.

1. *Islands raka*, (Iceland's Awakening,) an heroic Poem.
8. *Islands mănadarmál*, a favourite National Song.

Sundry Translations from the Danish poets, Tullin, Evald, Bie, &c.

V.—*Stephen Bioernsen*, a distinguished Mathematician, publisher of the old Icelandic *Rímbegla*.

Sundry Mathematical Papers.

8. On Prognostications as to Weather from the Northern Lights, Earth, Air, Water, and certain Animals.
13. On Field-measuring or Land-surveying.

VI.—*Olaf Stephensen*, Author of the History of the Trade of Iceland.

4. On the Keeping and Protection of the Eider-Bird.
5. On Icelandic Flocks of Sheep.
6. On Icelandic Herds of Cattle.
7. On Icelandic Fisheries.
8. On Icelandic Breed of Horses.

VII.—*Skŭle Magnussen*.

4. The Highland Peasant of Iceland.

5. The Lichen Islandicus.
6. On Planting in Iceland.

VIII.—*Stephen Thorasensen*, Author of several works on Husbandry and Gardening.
2. On Draining.
13. On Hay-Preservers.—On the Love of Reading among the Icelandic Peasantry.—On the Superiority of Grazing to Agriculture.
Sundry Tables of Births, Confirmations, Marriages, and Deaths, in Holum.

IX.—*Hans* or *Hanner Finsen*, Bishop of Skalholt, the publisher of his Father's *Historia Ecclesiastica Islandiæ*.
4. On the Sulphur Mines and Sulphur Trade of Iceland in the reign of Frederick II. (1536-59.)
5. On the Deaths of Children in Iceland.
11. Historical and Chronological Accounts of the Clergy in the Diocese of Skalholt, from the time of the Reformation down to 1791.
14. On the Depopulation of Iceland by Cold, Volcanic Eruptions, and Famine.
Sundry Tables of Births, Deaths, &c. in Iceland, from 1779 to 1795.

X.—*Geir Johnson Vidalin*, continued these Tables from 1796 to 1800.

XI.—*Olav Olavsen*.
6. On the Salmon Fishery in the Dransmen-Elv (Norway).—On Manures.
10. On the Sharpening of Scythes.
11. On the Preparation of Potash.
12. On the Preparation of Food—Beer and Bread.

XII.—*Benedict Johnson Groendal*, a well-known Icelandic poet.
1. On the Preparation of Potash from certain Sea-weeds.
11. On the Manufactory of Isinglass.—On Bleaching.—On the Small-pox.
A Translation of Pope's Temple of Fame.

XIII.—*Magnus Ketilson*, the Publisher of several works at Hrappsey, mostly on Juridical and Economical Topics.
4. On Paupers and Criminals who are unable to Labour.
7. Remarks on Magnusen's Article on the Highland Peasants.
12. On the Stalling of Sheep and Oxen in Summer nights.

XIV.—*Gudsang Sveinson*, a Clergyman.
7. On the Use of Sheal-houses (Icelandic, *Sel;* Scotticè, Sheal, Sheil, Shelo.)
8. On Sledges, as now used in Iceland.
9. On Icelandic Architecture.

XV.—*John Steingrunsen.*
9. Rules for landing and going on board of boats with a heavy surge.

XVI.—*Olav Josephson Hjort*, died in Northern Norway.
8. On Reindeer and their Food.

XVII.—*Egil Thorhallesen*, who visited Greenland for the purpose of Examining and Describing the Remains of Buildings of Norwego-Islandic origin. He was afterwards settled there as a Missionary, and returned to Funen, where he died.
8. On the Employment of Seal-skins by the Greenlanders, in Boats and Clothing.

XVIII.—*Marcus Eyolfsen* (Clergyman).
1. On the Labours of the Hay-harvest.

XIX.—*Biarne Emarsen.*
3. On the Preparation of Cod and Ling.
5. On the Morals of Servants.
11. On Yearly Contracts for Service, and Duties of the Labouring Poor, translated from Lindapt's Danish.

XX.—*John Sveinson* (Physician).
4. On the Icelandic Epidemics.
5. On the Establishment of House Pharmacies in Iceland.
12. Home on Scurvy, from the English.
13. On the Cheapest and Simplest Medicines.

XXI.—*John Sveinson*, Jun.
1. On the Manuring and Managing the Hay-crops of North Iceland.

XXII.—*Sigurd Petersen* (the Poet).
1. On Manures and Manuring.

XXIII.—*Thorasen Liliendal.*
2 to 7. On the Obsolete Words in the Old Icelandic Laws.
3. On Smithery and Steel Making.

XXIV.—*Sigurd Thorsteinsen*, (a Goldsmith in Copenhagen).
1. On Permanent Gilding.

xxv.—*Sämund Magnussen Holin* (Minister).
2. On the Wild Grain (Melúr, i. e. Elymus arenarius,) of Iceland, and its Management by the Peasants.

xxvi.—*Gudmund Thovgrunson* (Minister).
1. 3. 5. & 10. Translations from Büsching.

xxvii.—*Svein Paulsen*, Surgeon, still living, and the author of several works on Natural History and Biography.
9. On Lime from Stones and Shells.
9. & 10. Register of Icelandic Diseases.
10. On Soap-making.
13. Translations from Bergmann and Büsching.—On the Susceptibility of the Human Body.
15. On Mortal Diseases.

xxviii.—*John Jacobsen.*
11. On the Utility of Milk in Iceland.

xxix.—*Bioern Thomason.*
13. On the Duties of Popular Teachers in Iceland.

xxx.—*John Espolin.*
12. Translation of Danish Poetry.

xxxi.—*Arngrim Johnson.*
12. On the Laws respecting Stranded Fish.

xxxii.—*John Thorlakson* (the Poet).
13 to 15. Translation of the Three First Books of the Paradise Lost.

xxxiii.—*Thord Thorkalsen.*
12. On Foxhunting.

xxxiv.—*Islief Anarsen.*
Translation of Plutarch's Lives.

xxxv.—*Magnus Stephensen.*
3. On Meteors and Weather Changes, especially with reference to Popular Superstitions.

Of anonymous writers are the following:—
9. Translations from Theocritus, Anacreon, and Horace.
10. Translations from the Danish.
12. On Hay-ricks.
13. On Sledges.
14. Statutes of the Book Societies of Southern Iceland.
15. On the Construction of Stone Houses in Iceland.

All the above are the productions of native Icelanders. There are two others,—the first a native of Färro, Nicolai Mohr, who wrote a paper on the Method of catching the young Eagles, as practised in Norway, Färro, Scotland, and Shetland; the second,

Jens Lassen Busch, a Danish merchant trading to Iceland, whose work is the Article in the fourth volume on the Use of Hand-mills.

It will be seen that these books really form a Cyclopædia of useful knowledge, singularly fitted to the objects proposed; and though there was no division of departments of inquiry regularly arranged, yet the different topics naturally grew out of the different parts of the field, and formed a whole of very remarkable utility. Had the volumes emanated from one directing or superintending source, they would hardly have presented a more appropriate *vade mecum* than they now offer to the Icelander who desires to turn his country to the best account. They answered the end proposed to himself by the founder of the Literary Society, of whom, considering the great influence he exercised over the civilization of his country, we hope a few particulars will not be unacceptable to our readers.

John Erichsen was born on the 28th of August, 1728, a remarkable date, on which, many years after, Goethe first saw the light of day. The farm of Skálafell, in the south-east district of Iceland, was his birth-place; his father, Erik Johnson, was a poor, but respectable and virtuous peasant; his mother's name was Steinúnn; she possessed qualities and instruction far beyond her grade in society, and she soon discovered the talents of her infant son, which began to exhibit themselves at a very early period of his life. He was taught, as is the custom among the Icelanders, to read and write by his parents: they also paid very particular regard to his religious instruction, and he was confirmed when only nine years old, much earlier in life than the usual period for the performance of this ceremony. In fact, within a short period, a royal decree has forbidden confirmation till after the age of fourteen. His maternal uncle, the chaplain Vigpis Johnson, struck by the boy's readiness and diligence, devoted much attention to him through four long winter seasons, the summer months being, in Iceland, invariably devoted to labour. In 1743 he was received into the Latin school of Skalholt. At this time the Danish Bishop Harboe was making an ecclesiastical visit to Iceland, sent thither by King Christian the Sixth, and was deeply interested by the lad's progress in his studies, and he directed that every attention should be paid, and every facility offered him until he could be received as a student in the Copenhagen University. Great was the delight which he and his family received from the bishop's protection, and in 1745 he accompanied the bishop to Denmark, and took up his abode with the bishop's father at Broager in Sleswig, where he was brought up with all the care and kindness which one of the family could

receive. The following year Bishop Harboe took possession of his diocese of Drontheim, in Norway, and was accompanied by his young Icelandic guest, who pursued his Latin studies there under the auspices of Daer, the bosom-friend of Lukin, the Danish poet. He departed from Drontheim for the University of Copenhagen in 1748, bearing with him the most honourable credentials. He had lived some time among Danes, Sleswigers, and Norwegians, and great was his sorrow, when mingling among the Icelanders at Copenhagen, he discovered that he had nearly forgotten his mother-tongue. He determined then assiduously to devote himself to the study of the ancient Scandinavian writings, and soon became an authority in all matters connected with the purity of the ancient languages, taking precedence far above any of the other Icelandic students. Henceforward he pursued this course of reading and research with unbounded devotion and ever-growing delight. He made rapid advances in knowledge, and obtained his bachelor's degree in 1750. He was received into the Borsch College in 1754, and made *Decanus* of that community. The year following, a kingly decree nominated him Professor of Jurisprudence in the Soroë Academy. For twelve years he filled the chair with reputation and renown, and with his friend and fellow-collegian, Ove Guldberg, gave a long-lasting lustre to that establishment. In 1764, the office of tutor to the hereditary Prince Frederick of Denmark was offered him; but under the advice of his friend and former disciple, an Icelander, Luxdorff, he declined the honour, which was in consequence conferred on Guldberg, who rose by that opportunity to the very highest public offices of the kingdom. In 1771 he was called away from Soroë, and nominated a member of the newly-constituted Norwegian chamber; after which he occupied a succession of important public posts, fiscal and administrative, was made a state councillor in 1774, an assessor of the highest court of justice in 1779, librarian of the Royal Library in 1781, and in 1783 principal director of the Soroë Academy. He had been made member of several very important national commissions, as, for instance, that which had charge of the Arnæ-Magnæan MSS.; that for the reform of the university and high schools of Copenhagen; and that for the improvement of the situation of the Danish peasantry. In every important matter directly or indirectly relating to Iceland he was engaged. In fact, the demands on his attention far exceeded his powers of endurance, and many circumstances took place connected with his country which distressed his mind, and embarrassed his intentions; his power of exertion diminished with his cheerfulness, and a gloomy thought and feeling darkened his existence. His days became melancholy; his

nights were sleepless. It was a sad contrast to his once habitual gaiety. Bodily disease, evidencing itself in vehement perspirations, attacked him. On the 29th of March, 1787, he attended the Rentkammer College for the last time. Nothing appeared peculiar in his manners, except that his tone was singularly sad, and yet full of expressions of amenity to those around him. At the end of the sitting he left for his abode in Christianshaven, and had to pass in his way over the long bridge which separates Zealand from the Almager Islet. He had gone a little more than half over, when he called to the coachman to stop. He stopped; but before he had looked round him, his master had flung himself into the sea. It is said that his clothes and his watch were left in the carriage. He was not long in the water, and medical assistance was speedily obtained; but his head had been grievously wounded in his fall, and all the cares of kindness and of science were in vain; but he gratefully pressed the physician's hand, and died! *Mors terribilis est iis, quorum cum vita omnia extinguuntur, non quorum laus emori non potest.* He was fifty-eight years and seven months old. He had popularized himself in his own and in foreign nations, by his personal virtues and literary merits; and the manner of his death added singularly to the touching sorrow which that death awakened. In Iceland, especially, the melancholy story spread like a deep knell over a wide desert. He had become the pride, in proportion as he had become the benefactor of his country; and his countrymen in different ways recorded their affectionate admiration. Olav Olavsen, who was settled at Kongsberg, in Norway, painted a picture to his memory, in which his portrait was introduced. One of the earliest works of the since so renowned Berhal (Albert) Thorwaldsen was Erichsen's bust of the natural size. This bust was afterwards possessed by Thorkelin, who presented it to Biarne Thorsteinson, the bailiff of Western Iceland. Unluckily the bust was broken in the voyage, but the head was preserved. To the biography of Erichsen, written by Svein Paulsen, with Appendices by Thorsteinson and Olavson (A. D. 1808), an excellent portrait is attached. The work was printed at the expense of the present Icelandic Society. Erichsen was of middle height, but pale and thin; his appearance, especially in the latter part of his life, languid, notwithstanding his bright piercing eye. He was remarkably eloquent, affable and loquacious; rather mean in his garb; inexpensive in his habits; but he chose to live within the proceeds of his employment, providing however for the ample education of his children, the maintenance of his younger brothers, and those accessions to his library which were necessary to assist his studies. Four of his sons were provided for in the

royal military, civil and medical service; two sons and one daughter died in their youth; two other daughters are yet living, the widows of two officers of rank, one of whom was Jansen, the late governor of St. Thomas's, who is renowned in the heroic annals of Denmark, and who died in 1823. Count Reventlow, the minister of state, who had been one of Erichsen's most zealous protectors, transferred his kindness to the widow and children of his protegé.

Erichsen's works in Danish and Latin were numerous. He edited Holberg's poetry—wrote largely on law—published many criticisms and additions to the more remarkable productions of his day—several orations—divers volumes on the improvement of Iceland—and on the ancient languages of the North. He edited and furnished the Latin translations of Gunlang Ormstunger and Skald-Rafn's Sagas, (1775,) with essays on their antiquity. In 1777 he published his Torfæana; in 1787 Sæmund's Edda, with Prolegomena. He left behind him some volumes of an Ecclesiastical History of Iceland, which are not published. He assisted Suhm in his History of Odin and the Scandinavian Divinities, and Mallet in his French account of the Edda. In a word, his was a life of literary labour,—and those labours had always in view the melioration of his country and his species.

On his death Thomas Thaarup, a distinguished poet of Denmark, wrote the following lines:

Du var Skæber af din egin Hæder,
Vise Olding! ejegode Mand!
Og din kjæreste blandt dine Glæder
Var dit Arbeid for dit Födeland.

Island! nöjsom Friheds gamle Sæde!
Nævn en Klippe med hans ædle Navn.
Dine Döttre der hans Tab begræde,
Dine Sönner tænke der hans Savn!

Thou wert thine own honour's sole creator,
Sage old man! benevolent and bland!
And the sweetest thought of thy blest nature
Was thy labour for thy fatherland.

Iceland! freedom's seat in ages hoary,
On thy rocks engrave his honour'd name,
Let thy daughters mourn thy vanished glory,
Let thy sons preserve his sacred fame.

These were translated into Icelandic by Johnsonius. It is a curious fact that Erichsen is the only Icelander of any distinction who has been ever known to commit suicide.*

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* Luxdorf and Thorlacius both wrote Latin epitaphs, and, as they have been much admired, we transfer them to our pages.

Luxdorff's was as follows:

Tandem exuvias, assiduitate laborum
detritas, curis ipse æger et attonitus,
non alium quod jussit Socrates evergetur
expectans, sponte deposuit
funere ante diem mersus acerbo.

And the one by Thorlacius runs thus:

Tu quisquis es, viator!
qui dotes, meritum et abitum viri nosti
vel miraris,
tua quæ refert inde discito.
Supem vero sortis arcana quæ frustra

But to return to the society which was so long the object of Erichsen's care. On his death, a young man, then travelling in Great Britain at the King's expense, was elected to the presidency. This was Grim Johnson Thorkelin, and it was imagined that his residence in England would enable him to bring British reputations to support and grace the society. A number of individuals, mostly Scotch, were made members of the society.* As to their appropriate merits, and the grounds of preference to other and better men, we are not in possession of the needful information. Of the contributions of most of them to Scandinavian literature we have no knowledge. In truth, the society was tottering to its dissolution, and the fifteenth volume of its transactions is sad evidence of its decrepitude and decay. In the year 1814 it attempted to struggle into notice; a meeting was held, new members were chosen—but its euthanasia was come, and in 1817 its few remaining fragments were gathered up and incorporated with other affiliated bodies.

Meanwhile in Iceland itself a society had sprung up, without any foreign aid, which consisted of very numerous members, and which at once entered into a sphere of great usefulness. This was the Royal Society for General Icelandic Instruction—in Icelandic, *Islands Konunglega Lands Uppfradangar Felag;* in Danish, *Islands Kongelige Landsplysnings Selskab*—and its history will not be without instruction to us.

Its founder was Magnus Stephensen, at the present time Privy Councillor and Justiciarius of Iceland, the son of Olaf Stephensen, (mentioned in p. 55.) During his residence in Copenhagen he had been the treasurer to the Icelandic society. After Erichsen's death, (1787,) in consequence of a petition from Stephensen, the title of "Royal" was alienated from the Society, and many of the most valuable papers withdrawn. In 1788 he declared that

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Sic rupto putamine ad supera et cœlestia papilio evolavit:
Occidit non suo, non Parcarum sed hominum sed bonorum quibus vivendo profuit, judicio præcas.
O! raram sortem,
ab officio non vivendo, sed enim moriendo deficere. Quisquis es qui hæc legis, ito in rem tuam, et pia manu Ericianus voce vocato,
Utcunque ferent hoc factum minores vincit amor patriæ,
et sortis humanæ fragilitas.
rimaberis venerare.
Suum ille *tantum* et *huctenus* nunc dedit
In tuum *plus* et *ultra* cogites cinerique
quem non calente lacryma sparsimus bene precator!

* These were Lords Macdonald and Buchan, Sirs William Fordyce and John Sinclair, Messrs. G. Dempster, Thomas Astle, G. E. and I. Wolff, J. Pinkerton, W. Topham, Dr. Lorimer and W. Thompson.

the Society had fallen into the hands of green and rash young students, who took upon themselves to criticise the writings of their masters, and, professing to be reformers, were only deformers of all that was produced. The consequence was, that the most eminent of the fellows, especially of the residents in Iceland, would not consent to submit their productions to the crude criticisms of half-instructed youths. Situated as Stephensen was in Iceland, his project and purpose were to gather round his new institution those who had retired in disgust from that of Copenhagen, and perhaps to remove the head-quarters of Icelandic literary representation to Iceland itself;—a project which was welcomed at the Althing, (or general assembly,) but which failed in its object. Its failure, however, led Magnus Stephensen to another plan, which had more popular bases and promised more valuable results. At the Althing held on the 19th July, 1794, he associated himself with Olav Stephensen, (the president,) Stephen Thorasensen, Stephen Stephensen, the Bishop Hans Finsen, and Bioern Gottskalksen, the proprietor of the printing establishment of Hrappsey, for the purpose of dispersing useful knowledge over the island. Magnus Stephensen, who lived at Leirá, was appointed *Tilsjonarmadr*, (or Inspector,) to the society, in consequence of his own residence in the neighbourhood of the printing-press. This association took no specific title, but united in its objects a great variety of inhabitants of all classes, eager for the spread of information, and willing to contribute thereto according to their means. They had shares, and portions of shares, and were to be repaid, or to receive the amount, in books printed by the society. In 1786 a list of no less than 1200 persons was printed at Leirárgördum of the subscribers alphabetically arranged, as has been the immemorial usage in Iceland, according to their baptismal names.

But, in a country like Iceland, storms and "skyey influences" interfere with all the concerns of life, and, of course, of literature. There came a sharp winter and a dear season, a difficulty in paying subscriptions, and a decline and decay of intellectual ardour; and the demon of discord, born of religious controversy, came also into the field. Orthodoxy, that most insulting and quarrelsome of creatures, mounted her wild war horse, and found something, as she always finds, in exertions however pure and virtuous, to insult and trample on;—and thus a society which began and continued in the noble and holy purpose of spreading instruction was enfeebled and overwhelmed. The pecuniary advances of the president were reclaimed, and the published books and printing materials were given up to the establishment of a public "Institution for knowledge and instruction," (*Visinda og*

Upplýsingar-stiftan,) to be united to the printing-office, formerly of Hrappsey, now removed to Leirárgördum (Leiraagarde), which was still conducted by Bioern Gottskalksen, and with whom it was bargained that he should continue to supply the public with Icelandic works on the same terms as the society had sold them to its members. The Icelandic newspapers of 1800, however, announced the election of members to the Society of instruction, and only four or five years ago there was a summoning of the body to meet at Videy, in Iceland, notwithstanding the official announcement in 1798, that the Society was fused into the public institution just mentioned. It has held on, indeed, a sort of unrecognised existence, and since 1826 a paper war, which is still waged, has been carried on, both in Denmark and Iceland, as to its management and failure. The property has become involved in lawsuits, growing out of the arrangements made for the publication of Icelandic works; but a sad evil is produced by this state of things, namely, that the Icelandic presses are left in useless, or rather pernicious, inactivity, while the Danish government has taken the affair in hand, to be settled by a final but probably very tardy decree.

And this leads us back to the earlier proceedings of the Society, especially as connected with the state of the press in Iceland. The Society had the benefit of royal protection from the first, a protection necessary indeed to its existence, and still more to its success,—since no printing establishment was allowed in Iceland without the king's license. There were formerly two privileged presses on the island. The most ancient was introduced into Nuppyfelt in 1529, and has since that period, with the exception of a short transfer to Skalholt, been conducted for the most part at Holúm, in the northern part of Iceland, where for 300 years it has continued to publish Icelandic books, mostly, however, on theological and religious topics. Of late this press has been in a state of unusual drowsiness, which is attributed to episcopal indolence, since in a land where human energies are so little concentrated, the co-operation and assistance of men in power is frequently needed to give the impulse to exertion, and one individual's indifference or zeal gives a complexion to the whole course of human action. Awful is their responsibility who are placed in such circumstances.

In 1772 another privilege was granted for the establishment of a press in Iceland, but it was exclusively confined to "secular" topics. In the following year it began to be active in the island of Hrappsey, under the care of Magnus Ketilson, who published a monthly periodical there. In 1794 the press was removed to

Leirárgördum for the use of the Icelandic Society, and in the same year its privileges were extended to the publishing of books on all topics and in all languages. It was speedily occupied with the translation of Bishop Balle's book on the religious instruction of youth, which by a royal decree was introduced into all the schools of Denmark, and of which a version was undertaken by the Icelandic Society; under the same auspices the privileged Psalm book was translated and published. The Bishop of Holúm, Sigard Stephensen, brother of the president, and uncle of the administrator of the Society, had thus allowed the old monopoly of printing to pass away from his see, and a considerable number of books were produced from the Holúm press; especially for circulation in the northern part of the Island, where the demand, especially for theological literature, was more active than in the south. The bishop made some exertions to stop the influence of this rival press, but he failed, and died in the year 1798. In the following year a royal decree transferred the Holúm press to the Society, compelling them, however, to lay aside one fourth of their profits for the support of the episcopate, and giving them some privileges for the transport of their publications.

The statutes of the Society directed that the publications they issued should be confined to religious,—historical,—agricultural or economical works,—elementary or otherwise,—newspapers or annals,—poems of the smaller sort,—and instructive poems on all topics, with the exception of those erudite compositions which are unintelligible to the people. The following list of books published, will give a tolerably accurate idea of the class of writings issued. Summer Presents for Children, (1794,) a moral tale, by Gudmund Johnson, a clergyman, who is still living. The title is taken from an Icelandic custom of making a present on a certain day in April,—but neither are Easter nor Christmas gifts usual among the Icelanders. Reading for Winter Evenings, a collection on different subjects, 2 vols, (1794-7,) by Bishop Hans Finsen. Friendly Colloquies, a collection comprising several poetical pieces, by Magnus Stephensen. Remarkable Journals, a sort of annual of news, by the same writer, which, among other things, contains a tolerable account of the French Revolution. His brother, Stephen Stephensen, continued the Annals from 1795 down to 1801; and Professor Finn Magnusen has brought them as far as 1804. Sturm's Reflections for every Day in the Year, were translated by Marcus Magnusen. Martinet on the Structure and Nature of Man, by Svein Paulsen. Suhm, on the Creation and Virtue, by John Johnson. Bartholin's Christian Belief, by Gudmund Johnson. Balle's Lectures on the Bible, by Arno Johnson. Campe's Children's good Manners, by Gud-

lang Sveinson. Hasse on Education, by Sigurd Snorrason, and divers other works on the same or similar topics. The society republished many ancient and valuable works, among them Snorro Sturleson's Saga of Heimskringla, (1804.) They also printed the Laws and Institutes of Iceland, many of which had been for some centuries in existence, and the Acts of the Tribunals from 1763 to 1796. The History of Rolf (Rollo) of Normandy, written by Halder Jacobson, appeared in 1804. John Espolin's translation of Galletti's Introduction to History, in the same year. M. Stephensen's History of Iceland in the eighteenth century, was printed in Icelandic in 1806, and in Danish in 1808,—his Juridical Vade Mecum for Icelanders, in 1812,—his Jest and Earnest, in 1799 and 1817,—his Courts of Conciliation for Iceland, in 1819,—the Talk of the Mountain Peasant, Hjalmars, with his Children, of which the idea is obviously taken from the *Speculum Regale*, (p. 45,) in 1820,—his Inquiry into the Icelandic Laws respecting Adultery and Concubinage, in 1821,—and his Amusing Tales, in the same year. Besides these, sundry volumes on Historical, Medical, (one by Odd Hialtenin, on Vaccination,) Horticultural and Agricultural subjects, were brought into circulation.

This activity of the Icelandic press will be a subject of equal surprise and satisfaction to our readers, but the list we have given is exceedingly meagre and imperfect. We might have spoken of the biographers of Biarne Povelsen, of Bishop Hans Finsen, of Olav Stephensen, of Thorkel Olafsen, and many others. In 1793, John Thorlakson printed his Icelandic translation of Pope's Essay on Man; and Svein Sölvason brought out his Romance of Gissŭr Jarl, (Earl Gissur,) the first ruler of Iceland. A monthly periodical, entitled *Klaŭstŭrpóstŭr*, (the Cloister Post,) from the circumstance of the place of printing (Videy) having been formerly a convent, was published regularly from 1818 to 1826. A number of very curious particulars of the Icelandic Revolution in 1809,—a version of the Second Book of the Odyssey, by Egilson, were among the literary productions of the time. Would we could report the continued activity of the Icelandic press, but, as we have hinted above, it is sleeping a long, dull sleep, and for the present we see no signs of its awakening. Literature is involved in litigation; vexations, delays, expenses, are the present portion of those whose better part it were to follow the peaceful pursuits of literature. A fierce battle is at this moment raging between two separate factions. Crimination and recrimination are the order of the day, and amidst the howling winds, the eternal snows, the volcanos and the earthquakes of Iceland, the voice of bitter controversy may be heard—the filch-

ing of good names—the slander whose tongue is sharper than the sword—the jealousy "whose eyes are fierce as the sea monster"—and "the hubble, bubble, toil and trouble," which omnipresent witches stir up in the cauldron of human passions all over the world.

But away, away from these cloudy visions! and we turn with much satisfaction to the Icelandic Library Society, (*Islands Bokmenta Félag,*) established by Professor Rask, in Copenhagen, A.D. 1816. It has been reared under the auspices of a most illustrious name, and has made liberal and lasting contributions to the language and the literature of Iceland. Rask's literary character, and a portion of his merits, can scarcely be wholly unknown to any of our readers; but of the vast extent of his philological erudition, we may be allowed to speak from personal and intimate intercourse. No man ever existed, whose study of language has been directed to a wider circle, and assuredly none who has made the structure of language so much the object of attention. He is the consummate comparative anatomist of philology, not building up his theories from the scattered fragments gathered, as it were, by accident, but drawing his deductions from the most profound and elaborate research; and by comparisons comprehensive and exhaustive, throwing daylight on all those curious inquiries which have, for the most part, been feebly and ignorantly dealt with by the majority of critics. Not that Rask's writings have hitherto enabled the world to form any accurate estimate of his extraordinary learning. To have written the best Icelandic or Anglo-Saxon grammar, to have tracked through Hebrew or hieroglyphic records the chronology of Egyptian kings, to have edited Eddas, or Sagas, and have carried off prizes for essays on this or the other limited inquiry—this—these—are little—are nothing, compared to what he is capable of effecting. He is one of the very few men who can write on philology, having some sufficient acquaintance with the subject in its various bearings; who has seen with his own eyes, heard with his own ears, the tribes, the tongues, which cover the world's surface; who, if he has not girdled the whole earth, has at least explored those tracts in which so many nations were cradled; and who, travelling through all the East in the pursuit of philological knowledge, took with him a mind so trained, and exercised, and cultured, that nothing could be wasted upon it. As Iceland was among the objects of his earliest attention, so to Icelandic interests he has devoted himself with unbounded zeal, and established a claim to be considered one of her best benefactors. Rask spent three years in Iceland, from 1813 to 1815, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with the literature, language, and habits of the country. In 1813 he

published his Icelandic grammar; in 1814, Haldorson's Icelandic and Latin Dictionary. On the 30th March, 1816, a day which has been ever since commemorated as the anniversary of the society, its first meeting was held under Rask's presidency; and in October of the same year, he undertook his long oriental journey, stopping however on his way, both in Sweden and Russia, and publishing in both countries valuable philological works. The branch society, or rather the affiliated, or fraternised association, had its birth at Reikjàvik, in Iceland, under the auspices of Arne Helgason, and the general code of laws for the whole was printed in Copenhagen, in Icelandic and Danish, in 1818. Its object is the supply and circulation of really valuable books in Iceland, not only original works of living authors, but of those of standard reputation, and in such languages as may be applied to the purposes of education. It proposes also, to publish newspapers and other periodicals, and to sell all its productions at the lowest possible price. Its members are ordinary and extraordinary, who pay a small contribution to the common fund; and honorary and corresponding members, who for the most part are foreigners. The sittings of the Danish branch are held quarterly in Copenhagen; those of the Icelandic branch half-yearly, on the 31st March and 11th July, those being the periods when the convocations of the clergy take place in Reikjàvik. Each branch chooses its own executive yearly, and keeps its own accounts separately, which are, however, blended in the general annual statement. All the publications of the society are however printed at Copenhagen, and sent to Iceland by the vessels which trade thither. Iceland alone furnished nearly five hundred members to this society, the amount of whose contributions were however less than that of its less numerous fellows dwelling in Denmark. The society has received annual grants from the king, and liberal gifts from many patriot Danish noblemen, among whom Count Adam Moltke and John Bülow are entitled to particular mention. Its popularity in Iceland is great, and many of the inhabitants have made, for them, large sacrifices, in order to support and encourage its exertions.

When Rask left Denmark, he was succeeded by Biarne Thorsteinson, the present bailiff of West Iceland; and on his departure, Finn Magnusen, the erudite editor of the elder Edda, filled his place, which he held till Professor Rask's return from Asia, in 1827, who has ever since occupied the chair.

The following are the principal works published by the Society.

1. Their transactions, containing a tolerably complete review of the literature and politics connected with Iceland. From 1817 to 1826, the volumes were printed in quarto, under the title of

Islenzk Sagnablöd, (Icelandic Historical Leaves); the first year, edited by Magnusen and Thorsteinson, contains an account of public events from 1804, and especially of the attempt of the English to revolutionize Iceland, in 1809; the other volumes are edited by Magnusen alone, as was the first volume of the sequel, in octavo, which followed in 1828, under the title of *Skirnir*, a name signifying Narrator, which has from the time of the Mythic Edda, been given to the messenger of Freyer, the God of the Sun. The volumes for 1828 and 1829 had Benedict Jonason for their editor, and that of 1830, Baldwin Einarson. The supplementary historico-literary matter was furnished by Thorgeir Gudmundson.

2. An elaborate and critical edition of the *Sturlunga Saga*, with variorum notes, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article. This well-known historical account of the Icelanders, (written in 1284,) is accompanied by an ancient biographical account of Bishop Arne Thorlakson, (*Arna Biskups Saga*,) down to A.D. 1320. The work is in four quarto volumes, (1817—1820,) and is accompanied by an introduction written by Biarne Thorsteinson. The critical notes were furnished by Gisle Bryngulfsen, a minister, who was drowned in the bloom of life, (1828,) after having distinguished himself by the curious and erudite *Periculi Runologici*, printed at Copenhagen, in 1823. He was assisted in his labours by Svein Biörn Egilson, tutor of the Bessefted school in Iceland, and by two promising young students, Sigurd Stephensen, who died soon after in early life, and Thorasen Oefjord, another hopeful young man, who, being appointed to office in his native island, was drowned while returning to enter upon its duties. Such—and there are many such—visitations have too often thrown deep gloom over the hopes of Iceland. Long and distressful is the list of disappointed expectations—sad the tales of many of those, the depositories of their countries' fame, who have been swept away while they went forth in search of "the meet inheritance of noble minds." Denmark has proved to the Icelanders more fatal than the tropics to us. Pursuing their studies with devotion and ardour, the young adventurers are very frequently the victims of pulmonary attacks, and decay, and die, as if smitten by a hoar-frost. They who, in the wretched climate of their forefathers, track the wild and frozen mountains, and ford the bridgeless and terrible streams—who mount the sides of the volcano, and battle with the loudest and the fiercest storms—who fling themselves with indifference among the stupendous icebergs, or the thundering waves of a polar sea—they sink beneath the insidious attack of a climate milder than their own, a climate which an Englishman would call inhospitable.

But to them rain and storms and sleet and snow and hail, in all their fierce commotions, may be both health and music. We remember hearing an Icelander say, that he wanted to hear the wind, and it was in the autumnal season, when the equinoctial gales were shaking the very pillars of heaven. It was to him an impostor storm—the imperfect echo of the noise—the poor reflection of the grandeur—with which the war of the Icelandic elements had impressed his mind. The bills of mortality show melancholy returns by way of encouragement to the Icelanders to visit the south; yet many students venture, and we can bear personal testimony to the general excellence of their character, their aptitude for instruction, and the interest and the esteem which they seldom fail to excite in the bosoms of their teachers.

3. A continuation of the *Sturlunga-Saga*, by John Espolin, entitled *Island's Arbækur*, (Iceland's Year Books,) in nine quarto volumes, of which the first appeared in 1821, and the last in 1830. This completes the history of Iceland from 1263 down to 1743.

4. A Description of the Earth, with lithographic maps, in five 8vo. volumes, (1821—7). The first volume, on mathematical and physical geography, is by Grim Johnson, the present bailiff of Northern and Eastern Iceland, and Thord Sveinbiörnson, the Latin translator of *Grágás;* the remaining volumes by Gunlang Oddson.

5. A collection of Minor Poems, *Liodmæli*, by Stephen Olafson, a minister in Eastern Iceland, who died in 1688. This volume, in 12mo. appeared in 1823. The author writes with great mastery over his language; his verses are correct and flowing—mostly humorous—but interesting, both in a literary and philological point of view. Professor Finn Magnusen was the editor of the volume, and wrote the biography of the author, with which it is headed. This work was intended as the first of a series of a collection of Icelandic poetry, and appears with a double title page, designating such intention, but no further progress has been made in the object. Materials are not wanting, but of collected poetry there is a very small printed supply. This *Liodmæli* is, we believe, the only collection of modern Icelandic poetry, with the exception of two volumes published by John Thorlakson, the translator of Milton in 1774 and 1783, and these two volumes consist mostly of translations, and have, moreover, in them many Danish pieces. There are, indeed, the *Rimur*, of which several volumes have been printed at the Hrappsey press, but they are for the most part rhymed versions, or paraphrases, of prose romances of chivalric or historical origin, and represent the poetry of the fifteenth century, at which time great numbers of such poems were written. These have, how-

ever, reached foreign countries in very small numbers, and only one of them has, we believe, been translated, namely, the *Rimur* of Hialmar and Gnin, which was published by Bioerner, with a Latin and Swedish version (A.D. 1737,) of which Mr. Herbert has given a specimen to the English literary world. Oehlenschläger has followed the style and versification of this poem in his Brawalla-battle, the famous combat between the Danes and Swedes, in that period which has been very properly called the mytho-historical. Very many such poems remain to be published, and the Icelanders talk of them as yet unveiled Epics (sit venia verbo!) some of which might have been of great benefit to literature and to human happiness, had they taken precedence of the shoals of religious strophes which have been poured out in unbounded prodigality. Among these, indeed, a few may be found which can scarcely be called spiritual, or religious, compositions: some exceptions to the general tenor of these productions are to be found in the collections of Hallgrün Petersen, an ecclesiastic of the seventeenth century, who was the object of particular affection on the part of his countrymen, and Thorlak Thorasensen, who lived in the eighteenth century. Both these volumes were printed at Holùm. In the *Andleg Visnabók* (Devotional Hymn Book), of which two editions (both very rare) exist, (1612 and 1748,) there are also lyrical compositions of great merit.

6. The biography of John Erichsen, (*Œfi-Saga*,) written by Svein Paulsen, with additions by Thorsteinson and Olavson, a volume of great interest and value, and one which has contributed to throw much light on the literary history of Iceland. To men like Erichsen, it has long been the custom in Iceland to do honour, and through the last century, scarcely any man distinguished among his countrymen has closed his career without a printed tribute to his memory, in a sketch of his life and character. It would be an interesting subject of research, and of instruction to future times, if the different accounts of Icelanders which have been circulated among their friends on the occasion of their death, (for few of these biographies have been ever published for sale,) were collected into volumes. Among them are accounts of Biarne Paulson, (by Finn Magnusen, whose father-in-law he was,) Eggert Olafsen, Finn Johnsen, Hans Finsen, Biorn Hasdorson, and many others. They are written, no doubt, with the partiality of friendship, but after an intimate acquaintance with the history of those they celebrate.

To an Englishman, Mr. John Heath, the Icelandic Society owes and recognises a heavy debt. This gentleman, who dwelt for some time at Copenhagen, for the purpose of studying the Icelandic and Danish languages, printed at his own cost, and presented to the Society, the masterly Icelandic translation of

Milton's Paradise Lost, by John Thorlakson, a poet whose name has been familiarized to our ears by the honourable mention of him in Henderson's Iceland, and who died after a life of poverty in 1819. This translation is in the same poetical measure as the Edda, and is thus intituled, *Ens Enska Skálds J. Miltons Paradísar Missir. A Islenzka snuinn af Thiodskáldi Islendinga, Ioni Thorläkssyni. Kaupmannahöfn*, 1828. 8vo. pp. 408. The work was edited by Thorgeir Gudmundson and Thorstein Helgason, both attached to the Magnæan Commission and to the Commission for superintending the publication of northern works, and by them the introduction was also written. The metre of the translation is peculiar to ears unused to the continuity of lines so short, and it has somewhat of that alliterative character which distinguishes so many of the Anglo-Saxon poems. The Icelandic Society voted their thanks to Mr. Heath in a poem, of which the metre is that adopted by Thorlakson, with an English translation, *The Memory of John Milton and John Thorlakson, in the name of Iceland, to John Heath.** Of this address, both original and translation, Finn Magnusen was the author. The merits of Thorlakson's translation of Milton are great, but have been extravagantly exaggerated by Henderson when he says that "the translation not only rises superior to any other translation of Milton, but rivals, and in many instances in which the Eddaic phraseology is introduced, almost seems to surpass the original." This is very idle. There are, in fact, few books in the world of literature of which so many good translations exist as of Milton's famous poem, and though Thorlakson's version has very great

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* It will hardly be without interest to give a specimen of Eddaic English, written by an Icelander, without changing any thing. It will give to our readers who have not had an opportunity of examining the structure of the old Scandinavian poetry a pretty correct idea of its character.

"Bodily sights,
Baleful darkness,
Sharpeneth the eyes
Of shining Soul;
The Genius saw
God on his throne,
He saw what we
But see in picture.

"Angels, demons
And their strife,
Heaven and hell,
Honour and shame,
Earth's Creation,
Eden's bliss,
First of men,
Fallen, redeemed.

"Milton sang
This matchless chaunt,
Praise of God
And Paradise,
Mundane Epos,
Tale of man,
Not with suns
The song expires.

"Grateful world
Gives him thanks,
Loves his lay
And bids it sound
In all tongues
Of Europe's sons.
Lo! tis heard
In Iceland-Thule."

merit of its own, that merit is rather as a paraphrase than a version, which it is not; it is, in fact, a re-casting of Milton in the Eddaic mould. Henderson goes on to say, that "Thorlakson has not only supported its prevailing character," (he has done no such thing, the character of the poem having changed in Thorlakson's hands,) "but has nicely imitated his peculiar terms and more refined modifications;" this is equally an erroneous view: the narrow bounds of the Eddaic verse make it impossible to introduce those "peculiar terms" and "refined modifications" which the exquisite ear of Milton enabled him to elaborate out of his now sweet and now sonorous blank verse; not that we think Thorlakson erred in choosing the Eddaic measure, over which he had a very decided mastery, and which at once took the blind bard into the regions of the old Scandinavian epics. By it more was gained in association than was lost by dissimilarity. "Although," continues Dr. Henderson, "Thorlakson has found it impossible to give the effect of certain sounds, yet this defect is more than compensated by the multiplicity of happy combinations, where none exist in the original;" a strong case this, by the way, against the superiority of Thorlakson's over every other translation. But, we repeat, it has little merit as a translation—very great as a paraphrase. It is a beautiful Icelandic poem, of which the English is the groundwork. We give two passages, which have been often pointed at as remarkable specimens of felicitous translation.

The beginning of the ninth books is thus rendered:—

"Sýng ek eigi meirr
Um samræðür
þá er giörði Guð
Eða gestr einn
Engilligr, sik
Frá upphæðum
Handgenginn manni
Ok hjásitjandi
Sem hjá vin, vinr
Lét sér vel lynda
Ljúftiga málti ð
Af landsgróða
Mundi manni leyft
Margs at frètta."

And the close of the poem,—

"Öll lá nú opin
Ok öndverð þeim
En víða veröld
Svo velja máttu
Hvern, sem helzt vildu
Hvildarstað sér
Ok til atsetrs
I' at bua;
Himins Forsjón holl
Var þeim handleiðer.
þannig gengu þau
Nú þar bæði
Ok hèldt hvort þeirra
J' hönd öðru
Fóru þau svo fram
Fetum seinum
Enimana útaf
Edens fold."

Mr. Heath has had abundant recompense for his liberality. Large numbers of the edition have been sold in Iceland, though at a very moderate price, and their proceeds have been again applied to the production of other Icelandic books, which in their turn have been extremely useful—so that it has been already a benevolence of two harvests, and both fruitful ones,—and be it also said in honour of Mr. Heath's fellow-labourers, that the whole of their services were gratuitous,—but they too have had their reward in their labours, and in the results of those labours.

The Icelandic Society continues its meritorious exertions. It has lately been busily occupied in an honourable attempt to collect a library for the Icelanders,* and has had considerable success.†

The Icelandic Bible Society has excited some attention in England. It owes its existence to Dr. Henderson's unwearied labours, and by the assistance of the Parent Institution, it published in 1813, a complete edition of the whole of the Sacred Writings. Since then it has produced a new translation of the New Testament, of which two of the Icelandic Bishops, (Geir Johnson Vidalin, and Steingrim Johnson,) assisted by Islief Einarsen, have been the editors, and which issued from the Videy press in 1827. Thorlakson wrote a poem in celebration of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which Finn Magnusen rendered into English, and it is given by Henderson in the second volume of his travels. We have seen it re-printed in Calcutta. Almost contemporaneous with the establishment of the Bible Society, was that of the Religious Tract Society, which was principally directed by John Johnson, a minister of Mödrúfell. They have published nearly fifty different Tracts.

There are two Societies in Denmark, which, from their close connection with Iceland, we cannot pass over in silence, inasmuch as their object is the publication of ancient Scandinavian writings. One of these is the Royal Arnæ-Magnæan Commission,

* Professor Rafn has, we believe, made some appeals to the English public on this subject, and Messrs. Arch, of No. 1, Cornhill, have kindly offered to forward any contributions to their destination. We beg leave very cordially to recommend this friendly and benevolent object to our readers. Duplicates of useful works, in any of the current languages of Europe, will be highly valued—and how few are there of those who cast their pages, who might not, without inconvenience, send some of their superfluous stores to the poor inhabitants of Iceland. Now and then an English wanderer reaches as far as that frozen land—how gratifying for him to see there the evidences of the beneficence of his countrymen—and that such beneficence would fall upon the thankful and the worthy, we can venture confidently to affirm.

† This Society reckons among its honorary Members the following of our countrymen—Sir G. S. Mackenzie,—Dr. Henderson—Mr. J. Bosworth—Mr. Robt. Jamieson, and Dr. Bowring.

whose origin must be traced to Arne Magnusen himself, who, from 1702 to 1712, was engaged in exploring Iceland, and in gathering together whatever MSS. he could find, whether ancient or modern, and on all subjects. He was a man of indefatigable habits, and he amassed a very large collection, which he brought with him to Denmark. Nearly two-thirds of the whole perished in the terrible fire of Copenhagen in 1728,—yet the third that is now left is incomparably the largest and most valuable collection that exists. The learned possessor, who married a rich widow, laid aside before his death, which took place in 1730, a capital of ten thousand rix-dollars for the purpose of publishing the most remarkable MSS. of this collection, directing that Icelandic students should be employed for that object. Up to 1772, nothing whatever was done; in that year the king established the Commission for the purpose of giving effect to the testator's desires. The first members named were all men of eminence, namely Luxdorff, Suhm, Kall, Möllmann, Langebeck, John Erichsen, and Bishop Hans Finsen—these were among the most active labourers; Thorlacius was afterwards elected a member, and Thorkelin made secretary to the Commission. The present members are Monrad, Schlegel, Werlauff, P. E. Müller, (now Bishop of Copenhagen,) and Finn Magnusen, who is also the secretary. They have not been inactive,—but we must take another opportunity to speak of their publications.

Hid Norræna Fornfrætha Felag—or in Danish, *det Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab*—is another society with a similar object. It is in some sort a branch of the Icelandic society, and was established in 1825, for the specific object of encouraging the publication of works in the ancient Scandinavian tongues. In 1828 the king took the society under his protection. Its statutes are printed in Icelandic and Danish, and so are its diplomas issued; its sittings are quarterly, and it publishes in Danish, a periodical of Northern Antiquities (*Tidskrift for nordisk Oldkyndighed,*) and a quarterly work entitled *Hermoder*. Its members are for the most part to be found in the Icelandic Society, and its principal publications, hitherto, are in the ancient text, Historical Sagas in Norway, 4 volumes; in Denmark, 1; and in Iceland, 1—of Latin translations, under the title *Scripta Historica Islandorum*, 3 volumes—of Danish translations, 4 volumes; making together 13 volumes.

We have reached the end of what we proposed to ourselves, but have explored a very small part of the ancient Scandinavian ground. It would be a great service done to historical literature if a judicious list were published of the different writings which Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, have furnished in the last fifty

years in illustration of the history of the Northern races of mankind. During that period no year has passed without something being done to throw light upon the remoter annals of northern or north-western Europe.* He will undertake a task of no small labour, who shall tell us all that has been done. We see a few symptoms of a reviving interest in this country, in the remains of our Anglo-Saxon progenitors; and we hope there are some among us to catch the enthusiasm with which our German brethren have been diving into all the dark recesses of Gothic speech, and Sagas, and creeds and songs, and laws, and manners. A portion of that attention which has exhausted classical mythology, which has too long dwelt in the pantheons of Greece and Rome, and is wearied with fruitless efforts to learn something more where, perhaps, nothing more is to be learnt, may very profitably and very successfully be directed to the vast field of Gothic research. For we are Goths,—and the descendants of Goths—

"The men
Of earth's best blood,—of titles manifold."

And it well becomes us to ask, what has Zeus to do with the Brocken—Apollo with Effersberg—or Poseidon with the Northern Sea? The gods of our fathers were neither Jupiter, nor Saturn, nor Mercury,—but Odin, Braga, or Ægir. If we marvel at the pictures of Heathen divinities as painted by classical hands, let us not forget that our ancestors had deities of their own—Gods as mighty in their attributes—as refined in their tastes—as heroic in their doings—as the Gods worshipped in the Parthenon, or talked about in the Forum. Are there to be found in the stout hearts of men of the north, echoes to repeat the tones of scorn with which the effeminates of the south have insulted them for ages? Away with them!

* We have seen with much satisfaction a work, which has lately been published by Mr. Wheaton, the minister of the United States at Copenhagen, entitled "History of the Northmen or Danes and Normans from the earliest time to the Conquest of England by William of Normandy." It is an interesting book, and a very valuable contribution to the amount of our knowledge of ancient northern history.

ART. III.—1. *La Maréchale d'Ancre. Drame,* par M. le Comte Alfred de Vigny. 8vo. Paris. 1831.

2. *Marion Delorme. Drame en cinq actes et en vers.* Par Victor Hugo. 8vo. Paris. 1831.

THE Drama in France, as well as in our own country, seems at present rather at a discount; nor is this to be wondered at, for independently of the fact that for some time past nothing *very* brilliant or striking in that department has appeared, the real drama of life which has been exhibited there for the last twelvemonth so far exceeds in variety and intensity of interest any thing which the mimic representations of the stage could offer; its scenes have been so much more striking, its changes so much more unexpected, and its denouement is yet so impenetrable, that reality seems suddenly to have assumed the romance and mystery of the stage, and the stage itself to have become the last representation of the sobriety and even tenor which used to be the attributes of common life.

The dramatic talent of the day, such as it is, our readers are probably aware, has latterly taken the direction of illustrating the early history of France. The modern dramatists are busily employed in exploring a mine which in this country is pretty well worked out; endeavouring to do for their country what Shakspeare has done for the civil wars of England, and Scott for the times of chivalry, though in a spirit abundantly different from either of their prototypes. Shakspeare, conversant with every form of life, and, therefore, tolerant of all opinions, has no theory to favour, no peculiar views of society and polity to enforce or assail. Good and evil, virtue and vice, happiness and misery, are to him alike necessary fragments of one great picture; in the darkest scenes of bloodshed and strife through which he moves, he sees some gleam of humanity enlightening the gloom; in the sunniest spots of life some lurking and melancholy shadow; while even amidst the tempest and whirlwind of warring passions, there are pauses in which ever and anon are heard the still small whispers of serenity and peace. This neutrality of mind in Shakspeare, which enables him, like the universal sun, to look placidly on all things, was favoured by the character of the period in which he lived. Those were the days of action, not of thought. The great questions which have since divided and are now agitating the world slept unheard of in the womb of time. Opinions had not assumed consistency or form, far less arrayed themselves in hostile opposition to each other. The strong prejudices and clashing opinions of later centuries had not taught men to view the past through a distorting or a partial medium, or to seek in

the fictitious representations of former days a vehicle by which their opinions on questions of government or morals might be insinuated, or the prevailing views and passions of the day flattered or confirmed.

These days of indifference, however, are gone by. The great questions which were unheard of in the sixteenth century have since been proposed and discussed with vehemence by divided senates and contending armies. The clash of opinions still echoes about us, nor can the man of the nineteenth century shut his ears to the contest were he so inclined; birth and situation, education and habit, his feelings or his interests, range him unconsciously on the side of one or other of the disputants; and once enlisted, all things, however remote, take a colouring from those prevailing opinions with which the present security or future happiness of mankind appear to him to be identified. Our great novelist views the past with a kindly feeling, because a reverence for antiquity in all things is one of those principles which he carries into the actual business and duties of life. Inclined by feeling and education to a political quietism, he is distrustful of change, he attaches himself with a fond veneration to the ancient landmarks. To his mind

> "There is a consecrating power in time,
> And what is grey with years to him is godlike."

Thus he spreads a glow over all his pictures of former days, brings forward into sunshine the splendours of the tilt-yard and the banquet, while he hides "the loop-hole grates where captives weep;" and dilates with complacency on individual instances of the bravery, courtesy, loyalty and constant service of the antique world, while he passes lightly over its too general selfishness, misery and crime.

The very opposite view, and one at least as exaggerated, is taken, as might be expected, by the modern dramatists of France, who, while they have borrowed from Sir Walter the hint of dressing up for modern purposes their ancient annals, have treated him much in the same way as Caliban does Prospero after he has bestowed on him the gift of language; they turn his materials against himself, and use them only to degrade that state of society which he has painted in colours so seductive. These works might indeed be termed with some justice, an Anthology from the History of Crime in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries; or Dramatic Illustrations of the Four Pleas of the Crown under the Monarchs of the Houses of Valois and Bourbon. In their delineations, traced with an unshrinking hand, feudal oppression, feudal cruelty, treachery, rapacity, discord, selfishness, brutality, weary

the attention and oppress the heart. We seem to wander along the endless passages of some edifice of other times, where the walls echo nothing but groans, and we feel even in the darkness that the floor is slippery with blood. The chivalrous enthusiasm of Francis, the feats of Bayard and du Guesclin, the brave heart and open hand of Henri Quatre are out of date. "They are not," as Orlando says, "for the fashion of these times," but in their stead we have the assassination of the Guises, of their royal murderer Henri III., and of D'Ancre; the fierce scenes of the Barricades, since renewed with a more eventful issue; the horrors of St. Bartholomew; the butcheries of the Jacquerie; the plots and poisonings, the ferocious duels, the profligacy and rudeness and insecurity of private life; every where battle, murder and sudden death. The great novelist sees in the feudal times only a splendid arena where honour, accoutred as a knight, in arms of proof, walks side by side with religion in hermit garb, "and that unblemished form of chastity" which the gentle fancy of Spenser has shadowed out in Una with her milk-white lamb. The modern chroniclers of France, on the contrary, perceive in them nothing but a wide field over which vice roams unchecked, supported on the one side by treacherous cunning, and on the other by the iron hand of power; while religion, satisfied with an external homage, shuts her eyes and follows in her train, and honour wastes on idle gallantries and airy trifles those efforts which might have been directed to the purposes of utility and virtue.

This then is the leading fault of this dramatic gallery from the earlier annals of France. The colouring is too uniformly sombre and gloomy. The closing impression is one of too unmingled atrocity. The example had been set by the President Henault in his Scenes from the Life of Francis II., (suggested, it would appear, by the perusal of Shakspeare's historical dramas,) in which the characters of Catherine de Medicis and Guise are sketched, correctly perhaps, but without spirit and life, and with a great want of pliancy and nature in the dialogue. His success, on the whole, was not such as to encourage imitation, and in all probability, the worthy president's suppers were more agreeable to persons of taste than his dramatic scenes. More recently, however, the task of dramatic illustration has been resumed with more ability and force, though, perhaps, rather less fairness; with a fuller knowledge of the habits, manners and feelings of former days, and more fearlessness in exhibiting, by the changes of a dialogue, rough, animated, elevated, familiar and even vulgar as the character of the speaker demands, the shifting scenes of those turbulent and evil times. The frightful revolt of the Jacquerie under John the Good, almost cotemporary with that of Wat Tyler

under our own Richard, and which Froissart, influenced by its brutal character, has slurred over in a few sentences, has been painted with a forcible but odious minuteness of detail by Merimée, the able author of Clara Gazul. An anonymous author of very respectable talent has depicted in his *Conspiracy of Amboise*, the last days of Francis II., and the narrow escape of Condé from the scaffold. The rise and fall of the Guises, the factions, tastes and absurdities of the court, the mingled cleverness, baseness, and infirmity of purpose which distinguished the last monarch of the house of Valois, have been pourtrayed with still greater vivacity in Vitet's *Barricades*, *Etats de Blois*, and *Mort de Henri III.*, and in the *Henri III. et sa Cour* of Dumas. The reign of Henry the Great is passed over in silence. But the thread of treachery and crime is taken up with the minority of Louis XIII., in the *Maréchale d'Ancre*, which displays the intrigues and fall of the favorite Concini, and the judicial murder of his wife; while the slavish subjection of Louis at a later period, under the real monarchy of Richelieu, and the wide-reaching and bloodthirsty ambition of the cardinal, are somewhat too conspicuously presented in the *Marion Delorme* of Victor Hugo.

Though some of the works to which we have alluded are dignified with the title of drama, while others lay claim only to the humbler title of dramatic scenes; this is in a great measure a distinction without a difference. With the exception of the *Marion Delorme* of Hugo, which with all its faults may be considered as the illustration of one leading idea, we cannot perceive in the others, in the *Henri III.* of Dumas, or the *Maréchale d'Ancre* of De Vigny, any thing of that clear unity of purpose, that distinct developement of some one great event, in contradistinction to a crowd of others, which separates the regular drama from a mere succession of scenes. Both these plays, like the others, are as much representations of the manners and peculiarities of the time, as expositions of the springs and passions by which a tragical event is brought about; while the episodical matters which, though they increase the vraisemblance of the scene, do not visibly further the action, are nearly equally numerous in both classes of compositions. In saying this, we pass no censure on M. de Vigny, for we have no hesitation in saying that many of Shakspeare's historical plays stand very much in the same predicament.

We cannot think that M. de Vigny has been so successful in the choice of a subject for his drama as he was for his novel. The conspiracy of Cinq Mars* combined a series of events of more

* Vide vol. iii. p. 314, of For. Quar. Review.

progressive and far more intense interest than the fall of the Italian adventurer Concini, a character dissipated, worthless, unfeeling, subtle; brave when necessity forces the sword into his hand, but in his general policy hesitating, vacillating, and after all deciding as it were by accident. His fate is neither attended with the lofty interest which attends the ruin of a great, nor the sympathy with which we regard the downfall of a good man. Nor is this feeling materially altered by any thing in the character of the Maréchale, that Eleonora Galigai, who accompanied the queen mother, Mary of Medicis, from Italy, and reigned for some time mistress of the ascendant. Of her it might well be said, that nothing in her life became her like the leaving of it. Her well-known reply, when her judges demanded by "what conjuration or what mighty magic" she had fascinated the mind of the queen,—that she had used no charm but the ascendancy of a strong mind over a weak one, was striking and noble. But the history of her life only weakens instead of confirming this impression. A mixture of Medicean hypocrisy and persevering resolution, with the pride and grasping rapacity of a parvenue, are almost the only features of her mind which history indicates. The rest is a blank. So much the better, seems to have been M. de Vigny's opinion; there is the more to do for the dramatist.

And certainly the dramatist has not been idle. When Vertot was writing his Knights of Malta, and at a loss for materials, he manufactured a siege for himself, and afterwards found it so much more graphic than the true one, that he declined to make any alteration in his manuscript. Even so M. de Vigny, if he cannot find a history to suit his purpose, makes one. Leaving the character of Concini pretty much as he found it, he has gifted the Maréchale with beauty of person which, by all accounts, she did not possess, as well as with that moral beauty which results from warm and generous affections. This being, apparently so haughty and selfish in public life, is, in private, kind, generous, adoring her children; and even while suspecting her husband's infidelities, suppressing the passion which she had felt in youth in her native Italy, and which accident revives after long years among the splendours of Paris. The object of this early feeling is an imaginary personage, Michael Borgia, a Corsican, who, disappointed in his first suit by the stratagems of Concini, has married the beautiful but uncultivated Isabella Monti, and, accompanied by her, has secretly taken up his residence at Paris, and is deeply involved in the conspiracy which is maturing against the D'Ancres. On the conflicting feelings of this strange personage, his hatred to the husband, and his relenting towards the wife; and the licentious plans of Concini for the seduction of Isabella, whom

he has seen without knowing her to be the wife of his deadly enemy, the interest of the piece is made to turn. The jealous Isabella is at last persuaded that the Maréchale has robbed her of the attachment of her husband, and, animated by all the furies of Italian vengeance, is prevailed on to appear as a witness against her on the pretended charge of witchcraft and sorcery. The three first acts of the piece are not a little diffuse, and the action advances languidly; but the two last are full of life, incident and motion. The address of the Maréchale to her trembling judges, when they announce to her the nature of her accusation, is energetic in the highest degree.

"*The Maréchale.* Where are the proofs, the witnesses of this extravagant charge? The case will need them all, for if my memory of our ancient usages deceive me not, the stake is the punishment doomed to such a crime. Look twice at this ere you dishonour the parliament. When was life taken away but it was afterwards regretted? I have seen our late Henry weep for the fate of the Marechal de Biron. It will soon be so with me . . . . . And what have I done? My political acts are those of the regent and the king; my sorceries the errors of a weak woman, left without a guide on the summit of power. Which of you knows the being that can stand calm and unmoved amidst authority, and feel without yielding to the whirlpool of human affairs? Show me that man, and I will bow down and worship him. What are the names of my judges? *(Here the judges draw back a little. As she follows them with her eyes, they endeavour to conceal themselves behind each other.)* Whom do I see around me in these men? The courtiers who were my flatterers, the submissive creatures of my will. Away!—tis base that men who have so long obeyed a woman should league at last to ruin her. You should have had the courage, Messieurs, to remonstrate with me yesterday, or to bear with me to-day. *(Pointing with her finger.)* Answer, Monsieur de Belliévre, you who advised me to the trial of Pronville, will you condemn me? Or you, Monsieur de Memes, you who could stoop so low to pick up the president's mantle from my hands, will you condemn me? Or you, you, Monsieur de Bullion, who advised the ordinances for raising taxes in Picardy, without the royal letters, will you be my judge? I might say the same to M. de Themines, whom I have made a Maréchal of France, and to you Déageant, the president of my judges, to all of you whom I thus point at with my finger, and who tremble before it, as if it announced the day of judgment. *(The judges, confused and trembling, are huddled together against the wall, at a distance from her.)* Ye tremble at the very sound of your names; for ye know that I know you all; I was the confident of your baseness; in my memory the secrets of your ambition stand recorded. Away then—make ready your stake, that the shameful annals of the court may be burnt to ashes." *(She falls back into her seat.)*

While the Maréchale, even in the dungeon of the Bastile, is awing her oppressors into silence, bands of murderers are seeking

Concini through the streets of Paris. As he issues from the house of the Jew which contains Isabella, he hears through the obscurity of the tempestuous night the cries of the populace, but he thinks they are but the indications of some passing tumult. He rests for a moment against a pillar on the pavement, but recoils again, as from a serpent, for he perceives it is the stone on which Ravaillac had planted his foot when he assassinated Henry, and in that murder it is darkly insinuated he had a share. Through the darkness of the Rue de la Ferronnerie, Michael Borgia is seen advancing, conducting the two children of his rival. He has promised to the Maréchale to save them from the dangers of the night, and has brought them in safety to his own threshold. But his promise of safety extended not to Concini. The wild ferocity of the following scene has many parallels in the actual duels of the time, as delineated in Froissart and Brantome.

BORGIA *(with the Children.)*

Poor children! come in; you will be safer here than in the houses to which they have pursued us.

THE BOY.

Ah! there is a man standing up.

BORGIA *(turning the lantern which the child holds towards Concini.)*

Concini!

CONCINI.

Borgia! *(Each raises his dagger, and seizes with the left arm the right of his enemy. They remain motionless, and gazing at each other. The children escape into the street and disappear.)*

CONCINI.

Let go my arm, and I will liberate yours.

BORGIA.

What shall be my security?

CONCINI.

Those children whom you have with you.

BORGIA.

I am labouring to save them. Your palace is on fire—your wife is arrested—your fortune is wrecked—base, senseless adventurer!

CONCINI.

Have done—let go—let us fight!

BORGIA *(pushing him from him.)*

Back, then, and draw your sword.

CONCINI *(draws.)*

Begin.

BORGIA.

Remove those children—they would be in our way.

CONCINI.

They are gone.

BORGIA.

Take these letters, assassin! I had promised to restore them to you.
(He hands to Concini a black portfolio).

CONCINI.

I would have taken them from your body.

BORGIA.

I have performed my promise—and now, ravisher! look to yourself.

CONCINI.

Base seducer, defend *thyself.*

BORGIA.

The night is dark, but I shall feel you by my hate:
Plant your foot against the wall, that you may not retreat.

CONCINI.

Would I could chain yours to the pavement, that I might be sure of my mark!

BORGIA.

Agree that the first who is wounded shall inform the other.

CONCINI.

Yes, for we should not see the blood. I swear it by the thirst I feel for yours.—But not that the affair should end there.

BORGIA.

No, only to begin again with more spirit.

CONCINI.

To continue till we can lift the sword no longer.

BORGIA.

Till the death of one or other of us.

CONCINI.

I see you not. Are you in front of me?

BORGIA.

Yes, wretch! Parry that thrust. Has it sped?

CONCINI.

No; take that in return.

BORGIA.

I am untouched.

CONCINI.

What, still? Oh! would I could but see thy hateful visage.
(They continue to fight desperately, but without touching each other. Both rest for a little.)

BORGIA.

Have you a cuirass on, Concini?

CONCINI.

I had, but I left it with your wife in her chamber.

BORGIA.

Liar! *(He rushes on him with his sword. Their blades are locked for a moment, and both are wounded.)*

CONCINI.

I feel no sword opposed to mine. Have I wounded you?

BORGIA, *(Leaning on his sword, and staunching the wound in his breast with his handkerchief.)*

No, let us begin again. There!

CONCINI *(binding his scarf round his thigh.)*

One moment, and I am with you. *(He staggers against the pillar.)*

BORGIA, *(sinking on his knees.)*

Are you not wounded yourself?

CONCINI.

No, no! I am resting. Advance, and you shall see.

BORGIA, *(endeavouring to rise, but unable.)*

I have struck my foot against a stone—wait an instant.

CONCINI, *(with delight.)*

Ah! you are wounded!

BORGIA.

No, I tell you—'tis you who are so. Your voice is changed.

CONCINI, *(feeling his sword.)*

My blade smells of blood.

BORGIA.

Mine is dabbled in it.

CONCINI.

Come then, if you are not—come and finish me.

BORGIA, *(with triumph.)*

Finish! Then you *are* wounded.

CONCINI, *(with a voice of despair.)*

Were I not, would I not have already stabbed you twenty times over? But *you* are at least as severely handled.

BORGIA.

It may be so, or I should not be grovelling here.

CONCINI.

Shall we now have done?

BORGIA, *(enraged.)*

Both wounded—yet both living!

CONCINI.

What avails the blood I have drawn, while a drop remains.

BORGIA.

O! were I but beside thee!

Enter VITRY, *followed by the Guards walking slowly. He holds the young* COUNT DE LA PENE *by the hand; the boy leads his sister.*

VITRY, *(A pistol in his hand.)*

Well, my child, which is your father?

COUNT DE LA PENE.

Oh! protect him, sir,—that is he leaning against the pillar.

VITRY, *(aloud.)*
Draw up—remain at that gate—Guards!
(The Guards advance with lanterns and flambeaux.)
Sir, I arrest you—your sword.
CONCINI, *(thrusting at him.)*
Take it.
(VITRY *fires his pistol*—DU HALLIER, D'ORNANO, *and* PERSAN *fire at the same time*—CONCINI *falls dead.)*

The malice of De Luynes, the inveterate enemy of the D'Ancres, and afterwards the minion of Louis, contrives that the Maréchale, in her way to execution, shall be conducted to this scene, where her husband lies dead, on the spot which had been stained with the blood of Henry, like Cæsar at the foot of Pompey's statue; and the play concludes with her indignant and animated denunciation of this wretch, who stands calm and triumphant, while the Maréchale exacts from her son, over the body of Concini, an oath of vengeance against the destroyer of her house.

Our readers will have perceived, even from these extracts, something of the force and vivacity of style of this drama. Its chief fault is, that with all the assistance which imagination could lend to history, there is not in the whole piece a single character with whom the spectator fully sympathizes. Concini is contemptible; Borgia a creature of impulse; Isabella a perjured witness; Fiesco, Themines, and the rest, are, as might be expected, selfish *debauchés*. Even the Maréchale, though we perceive in her some traits of greatness, and many of kindly feeling, is far too slightly drawn, to excite our sensibilities strongly in her favour, or to divest us of a lurking impression at the close of the piece, that in the dark tissue of treachery and crime which it pourtrays, the guilt of all concerned differs only in degree.

Marion Delorme, the last production of the fertile muse of Victor Hugo, or rather the last which has been published, (for in the order of composition it precedes *Hernani*,) differs from that of M. De Vigny in some remarkable features. The basis, at least, of the whole interest of De Vigny's play is historical; the main action of that of Hugo is purely imaginary: the former adopts the simplicity of prose as most likely to give effect to the rough vigour of dialogue at which he aims; the latter writes in verse, because its compression and its musical flow assist the effect of that antithetical and epigrammatic style which he seems to consider essential to dramatic point: the former rests more on manners, the latter on character, (according to his own very peculiar notions of it): the one, while he proses occasionally, is

always cautious, and generally natural; the other, amidst striking traits of character, and singular force of expression, often startles us by the most illogical deductions, the most unaccountable changes of sentiment, the most singular and even vulgar expressions. We have of late, however, bestowed a good many of our pages on his compositions, and must therefore pass very briefly over the present, which seems on the whole to be considered, and with truth, to be a failure.

Hernani, it is clear, took the Parisian critics, in some measure, by surprise. Carried away by its strange and altogether original character, criticism was in a great degree either silenced or seduced into applause. But such experiments are not to be tried twice; and had the present drama been at least equal to Hernani, we suspect its reception would have been pretty much the same. But, to say the truth, it is in all respects inferior: its beauties are far less numerous, its absurdities far more striking; while the main idea on which the piece is founded is one of a nature so hazardous, so peculiarly calling for the exercise of those very qualities in which the dramatist appeared most deficient, a delicate discretion and taste, that in the hands even of the ablest dramatist, we doubt much whether it could have been rendered attractive.

Conceive a heroine, whose youth has been devoted to vice, the venal favourite of a licentious court, perhaps from necessity, perhaps from inclination,—for which of the two has conducted her to that state of splendid misery does not appear,—whose heart is at last touched with a virtuous affection for one who has witnessed only her beauty and her fascination, and who, ignorant of her degradation, has centered all his thoughts and hopes in her. The object of her attachment incurs the penalty of one of those sweeping and sanguinary, yet perhaps not unnecessary laws, against duelling, by which the omnipotent Richelieu is endeavouring to check the turbulence and disorder of the court:—he might avoid the hand of justice; he is preparing to do so, when the dreadful disclosure of the true character and former life of his mistress breaks upon him. Life ceases to have any attraction for him, he delivers himself up:—the hour of his execution is fixed, is on the point of arriving. His mistress, whom he has spurned from him with all the violence of a wounded heart, makes her way into his prison. The hope of saving him, of flying with him, has induced her once more to sacrifice that virtue which her affection for him has only lately taught her how to value as she ought. She comes only to be repulsed, insulted, trampled on. He will not hear of an escape, for which he is indebted to her; life from such hands is worse than death. But when the hour strikes, and the hope

of escape is over, his heart at last relents;—he flings aside his pride, his sense of injury, he remembers only her patient, unwearied attachment, sees only her silent agony, and with a last embrace and in a burst of natural tears, acknowledges his harshness towards her, and implores at once and bestows forgiveness.

That such a subject may in certain shapes be rendered highly pathetic, is undeniable; though perhaps of all others the dramatic is the form least adapted to its character; but at the same time every one must feel, that on subjects such as these, which tread upon the debateable land of morals, the most delicate tact, the most consummate skill in the management of emotion, are required; and these we certainly should never think of seeking in Victor Hugo. Nor, to be plain with him, are they to be found here: as the characters are delineated, we can neither conceive how the attachment of Didier for Marion Delorme could have been formed in such utter ignorance of her previous life; how the discovery of the truth, which in common sense he never could have expected to have learned from *her*, if he had not common sense to discover it, should affect him with such bitter feelings of contemptuous cruelty to her, even while she is loading him with proofs of a genuine attachment; nor, lastly, by what strange revulsion of feelings his conduct is so suddenly presented to him in a new light, and the being who in the third act had been denounced as "a demon," becomes in the fifth "an angel of heaven."

The same character of exaggeration pervades the other characters of the piece. The fourth act is chiefly occupied with a long interview between Marion Delorme, as supplicant for the life of Didier, the Marquis de Nangis, the uncle of Didier's opponent in the duel which forms his crime, and the weak, nervous, and sensitive Louis XIII. jealous of his own authority, even while sensible of his weakness, and excited at last to exert his prerogative of mercy in favour of the accused, which is the next moment neutralized by the efforts of Richelieu. The character of Louis strikes us as a gross caricature. Impotent as he was, history affords no warrant for the mingled insanity and imbecility which Victor Hugo has infused into his portrait. The reckless gaiety of Saverny, who fights, makes love, or philosophises in his dungeon on his approaching execution, all in the same tone,

"Indifferent in his choice to live or die,"

seems also carried too far. The best portrait, we are inclined to think, is that of the villain of the piece, the criminal Judge Laffemas,—but villains, we suspect, are easily manufactured.

Perhaps the best trait in the play is his cool reply in the close of the third act. Saverny, who had been Didier's opponent in the duel, and who, according to the edict of Richelieu, is equally implicated with him as to its consequences, finds it expedient for some time to circulate a report of his death. His coffin is brought to the castle of his uncle, the Marquis de Nangis, and preparations are actively on foot for his interment. But his anxiety to aid the escape of Didier leads him to throw off his disguise, and proclaim his existence. All are in transports except Laffemas, who immediately orders his arrest as guilty within the statute. While the officers are securing him, the servants of the Marquis enter hastily, to announce that the preparations for the funeral are completed.

UN VALET *(entrant, au vieux Marquis.)*
De Monsieur Gaspard les obsèques sont prètes.
Pour la ceremonie, on vient de votre voix
Savoir l'*heure* et le *jour*.

LAFFEMAS.
Revenez dans un mois.

Les gardes emmenent Didier et Saverny.

ART. IV.—*Antiquities of Mexico: comprising Fac-Similes of Ancient Mexican Paintings and Hieroglyphics, preserved in the Royal Libraries of Paris, Berlin, and Dresden; in the Imperial Library of Vienna; in the Vatican Library; in the Borgian Museum at Rome; in the Library of the Institute at Bologna; and in the Bodleian Library at Oxford: together with the Monuments of New Spain by M. Dupaix; with their respective scales of Measurement and accompanying descriptions. The whole illustrated by many valuable inedited Manuscripts.* By Augustine Aglio. 7 vol. imperial folio. London. 1829.

SOME apology may, perhaps, be deemed necessary, for reviewing in our pages a work printed and published in England, and a great part of the letter-press portion of which is in the English language; but we conceive, that as the subject of it is foreign, the artist himself a foreigner, and the materials of its compilation have been principally derived from foreign sources, we shall be amply justified in the eyes of our readers for introducing to their notice a production which, in the splendour of its embellishments, in the beauty of its type and paper, and in the general magnificence of its execution, is, we think, unequalled by, perhaps, any other publication, not only of the present day, but of any former one, not even excepting such works as that on Egypt, published by

Napoleon's government.* An outlay has been already incurred in getting it up of upwards of thirty thousand pounds; and when we also take into account the time and trouble it has occasioned, —that, as Mr. Aglio informs us, it is the result of several years' unremitted labour and perseverance, and that in obtaining access to the materials which compose it, he has often had to contend with difficulties almost insurmountable, we might perhaps be excused for trespassing beyond our province, on these considerations alone, independently of the intrinsic merit of the work, to recommend it to the notice of the learned antiquaries and great national libraries of Europe, both as an ornament and a valuable and important addition to their respective repositories.

It should not be forgotten that the artist, Mr. Aglio, is chiefly indebted for the successful issue of his labours to the liberal encouragement afforded him by Lord Viscount Kingsborough, an Irish Nobleman, under whose auspices the undertaking was commenced and proceeded with; whose zeal in the prosecution of it, and whose profundity of research, exhibited in his curious and erudite disquisitions in elucidation of the subject, are eminently entitled to our eulogy.

If, however, these recondite speculations of his lordship, which are conveyed in the form of notes, had been embodied in a preliminary essay, in a consecutive train of arguments, illustrations, and facts, the reader would, probably, have been more satisfied, and the author's reasonings would doubtless have been better understood and appreciated. When we see the quantity of learned annotations brought forward to support a favourite theory as to the aboriginal natives of Mexico, we should have expected that equal pains would have been bestowed to throw light on those Mexican manuscripts constituting the body of the work, of which no explanations had previously been given. We are aware that the task would have been not only laborious but extremely dry and irksome, without, perhaps, at last being fully successful; but we cannot help thinking that the attempt to decipher them would have been more "german to the matter" of the work itself, than the metaphysical lucubrations with which the noble writer has favoured us. The want of some such interpretations renders these particular paintings comparatively useless, and valuable merely as antiquarian curiosities, or as splendid relics of Mexican ingenuity and graphic art.

Baron Humboldt, in his celebrated work on the Monuments of America, speaking of some Azteck manuscripts deposited in certain libraries of Europe, remarks "il serait à désirer que

* The price is £120 with the plates in plain outline, and £175 coloured.

quelque gouvernement voulût faire publier à ses frais ces restes de l'ancienne civilisation Americaine: c'est par la comparaison de plusieurs monumens qu'on parviendrait à deviner le sens de ces allégories," &c.* What M. de Humboldt hoped some government would do, Lord Kingsborough has here done. He and his coadjutor have concentrated in these volumes the most remarkable Mexican records and hieroglyphical monuments hitherto known to exist in Europe; they have thereby supplied the desired facilities for enabling any one possessed of sufficient leisure, curiosity and knowledge, to undertake the laborious task of collating and comparing them, with some chance of a successful result.

This collection, derived with more or less facility from the libraries and museums of the chief continental cities—none of Spain being included—comprises fewer manuscripts than one might have supposed; it is alleged, however, to be a complete union of all the existing manuscripts and hieroglyphical paintings, illustrative of Mexican antiquities, that Europe can furnish. If we are to understand by this, that it is all that Europe contains, we are much disposed to doubt the correctness of the allegation, and to hazard a conjecture that several more, could access be had to them in any way, might be found in the Escurial at Madrid, and in the archives of other Spanish towns, especially of Simancas, near Valladolid. And this belief is founded not only on the supposition of M. Fabrega, (who is so often cited by Zoëga and Humboldt,) that the archives of this place contain some hieroglyphical paintings, but on information which we have received from an intelligent Spaniard, as well as from the statement of Dr. Robertson to the same effect. The latter observes, that the papers relating to America, and chiefly to that early period of its history towards which his attention was directed, were so numerous, that they alone, according to one account, filled the largest apartment in the archives of Simancas; and, according to another, they composed eight hundred and seventy-three large bundles. Owing, however, to the jealous solicitude with which strangers are denied all access to those treasures, he was never able to avail himself of them; nor do we see any mode of getting at manuscripts deposited there, illustrative of the subject of Mexican antiquities, except through extraordinary interest at the Spanish court, or the employment of a native to gain admission, who, moreover, in order to be of real service, should be well qualified for this particular task. The fees demanded for the copying of any manuscripts are, likewise, so exorbitant, as to

* Atlas Pittoresque des Cordillères, p. 83.

form another very serious obstacle to the accomplishment of the end in view.

Dr. Robertson, when writing his "History of America," was inexcusably ignorant of the existence of a *Codex Mexicanus* in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; insomuch that M. de Humboldt, hearing of its existence incidentally from a traveller, when composing his "Atlas Pittoresque," could scarcely give credence to the account, and remarked, how could this Oxford collection have remained unknown to the illustrious Scottish historian? and the same celebrated author frequently betrays, in the course of his work, a similar disbelief or ignorance in this respect; relying, probably, on the erroneous assertion of the historian, that no other monuments of Mexican industry and civilization existed in England, except a golden cup that once belonged to Montezuma. He at length learned, however, through some literary channel,* as he informs us, that no less than *five* Mexican manuscripts are preserved in the Bodleian; which is correct, reckoning the Mendoza collection as one of them, which is not *original*, as we shall see by and by. The late Mr. Astle, who, seven years after the appearance of Robertson's History, published his learned, though somewhat incorrect work on the "Origin and Progress of Writing," was the first, we believe, to direct attention to these paintings; but he has omitted, in his enumeration of them, though the result, we presume, of personal inspection, the beautiful *Laud* manuscript. Besides these, there were two remarkable *Codices Mexicani* at Rome, (as well as several other collections,) which were unknown to Robertson, though Acosta, and Kircher, and Mercati, in his work, "Degli Obelischi di Roma," had all mentioned that some Azteck paintings existed in the Vatican. When, therefore, we observe such inadvertencies and want of information in some of the ablest writers and most diligent inquirers on this subject, we think there is good ground for believing that omissions may have been made by the present collectors, and that the archives of the Peninsula, guarded as they are with such superstitious vigilance, may yet be found to disclose, could they be once ransacked, "treasures both new and old."

And where, indeed, could we look with more likelihood for the existence of these relics of ancient Mexico, than to the country whence the chivalrous adventurers to the New World first departed, and to which they naturally transmitted whatever they intended as curiosities or presents? Cortez, we know, while effecting the conquest of New Spain, sent over more than once to the Emperor Charles V., many valuable tokens of his success and

* Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1811, p. 1553.

homage, and amongst them were several pictorial manuscripts. In 1519, soon after he had set foot in that new region, he transmitted a cargo of presents to the Spanish court, a catalogue and description of which were published by Gomara* and Peter Martyr;† the former of whom says, expressly, that, to many gold and silver ornaments, different skins, articles wrought of feathers of various colours, and richly coloured cotton cloths, Cortez added, as presents, certain Indian books of figures which they (the Indians) employed as letters: these books were folded like cloths, and inscribed on both sides. Some of them were made of cotton and glue, and others of the leaves of a certain tree called *Metl* (Agave Americana,) which served for paper. Again, in 1522, "he dispatched deputies to Spain," says Robertson, "with a pompous account of the success of his arms, with further specimens of the productions of the country, and with rich presents to the emperor, as the earnest of future contributions from his new conquests." And lastly, he brought with him, on his return home in the following year, many jewels and ornaments of great value, and several curious productions of the people whom he had subdued, amongst which, most probably, were some picture-writings similar to the above. The first Christian missionaries, principally from Spain, it is also well known, obtained many interesting monuments of the former history of the people whom they went to convert; and it is generally understood that whatever Mexican paintings they were found to possess, were, by the orders of Zummaraga, the first bishop of Mexico, consigned to the flames as objects of idolatry; but it is no less certain that, in spite of the iconoclastic zeal with which the Spaniards levelled the images and idols consecrated to Mexican worship, and the mistaken bigotry with which they destroyed other monuments of Mexican greatness, many of the latter escaped the general destruction; and we may conclude so from the valuable multifarious collections of them formed afterwards by Siguenza, Boturini, and other travellers. Some of these relics were transmitted to Europe from time to time, where they were regarded as objects of great consideration. And when we recollect the jealous and exclusive policy of Spain with regard to her new possessions, and every thing connected with them, we need not wonder if these vouchers of ancient ingenuity have never travelled beyond the precincts of the country to which they were originally sent, and if they still continue locked up in the same dusty and secluded chambers to which they were first consigned.

Some, however, have, as we see, got abroad; and hence is not

* Chronica de la Nueva Espagna, cap. 34.
† De Insulis nuper inventis Liber, p. 354.

an additional cause of suspicion afforded us that others remain behind? Indeed, we are warranted in such a conjecture by the fact that Mr. Waddilove, during his stay at Madrid, as chaplain to Lord Grantham, the then ambassador from England, discovered, in a collection in the library of the Escurial, a Mexican calendar, as is generally alleged; which, however, it is right to remark, M. de Humboldt conjectures, for special reasons, to be only a copy from some original manuscript; he moreover, satisfactorily proves that the hypothesis founded on this painting, namely, that the Mexican calendar contained two hundred and eighty-six days, divided into twenty-two months of thirteen days, is completely groundless.

No notice is taken of this discovery of Waddilove's by Mr. Aglio as far as we can perceive, though it is possible that he may have incorporated it with some other calendar in the collection—like the tribute-roll of Lorenzana, introduced in the second part of the "Mendoza" Codex,—and that thus it may have escaped our notice; nor does he make any allusion to the circumstance of the probable existence of other collections in the archives of Spain.

After having thus offered a few preliminary observations on the general character of this magnificent production, we come to the purposes likely to be served by the publication of these ancient remains of pictorial skill. Besides the combination and arrangement of the most remarkable of these Azteck manuscripts, copies of which have been here executed with such beauty and accuracy, the work before us must be considered to have two objects in view; the one, to offer to the attention of the amateur and the antiquary, the state of the graphic art among the old inhabitants of Mexico; the other, to adduce some additional illustrations to the history, domestic and civil, of that singular people. We are aware that a respectable authority lays it down as an axiom, that the monuments of those nations which have attained no high degree of intellectual cultivation, which, either from political or religious causes, or the nature of their organization, have never been affected by the beauty of forms, can be considered but as memorials of history. This can be admitted, we think, only where objects of art are intended to be held up as models for imitation; but inasmuch as they serve as *data*, by which to ascertain the different degrees of civilization in different countries, to mark the respective stages of its progress, and to indicate the comparative excellencies of particular nations, they become an interesting object of study to the philosophical inquirer. And as there is not a more profitable and pleasing pursuit than an investigation of the steps by which, with various degrees of

rapidity, according to local circumstances, nations have gradually advanced from a state of absolute barbarism, to one of comparative enlightenment; so the arts of aboriginal states, as one of the means of this historical investigation, are, in our opinion, not unworthy, in themselves, of some attention and regard. Accordingly, the picture-writings of the Mexicans, besides the light which they may be said to throw on the mythology and history of the first inhabitants of America, and the interest of a psychological nature attaching to them, presenting us with a view of the human mind under particular circumstances, have another claim upon our notice, when placed in juxta-position with the systems of hieroglyphical writing in certain nations of the Old Continent; considered in reference to these, and to the late valuable discoveries of Messrs. Young and Champollion in Egyptian literature, we cannot but look upon the present work as affording a most seasonable criterion for ascertaining the extent and nature of the relations, if any, existing between the ancient Mexican and the Egyptian hieroglyphics. This object, we are free to confess, would have been materially facilitated had explanations been attached to those paintings hitherto not possessing any; or, at least, had we been favoured with a sort of dictionary or synopsis of the general system of interpretation adopted by preceding writers, so far as it can be ascertained. The Mexican mode, instead of being, as has been generally described, purely picture-writing, seems to have been of a *mixed* kind, in which real hieroglyphics, sometimes curiological, sometimes tropical, are added to the natural representation of an action. We even find, among the Mexicans, vestiges of that kind of hieroglyphics which is called *phonetic*, indicating relations, not with things, but with the language spoken. Hence, then, this magnificent production, though undoubtedly a most valuable boon in many respects, may be regarded as opening up a field of curiosity and research, that would have stood a chance of being much more successfully cultivated, had the possessors of it been furnished at once with the proper implements of tillage.

Independently, however, of these objections, and taking it just as it is, we cannot but hail the present work as a most rare treasure, considering that while the antiquities of Egypt and other countries have been for centuries familiar to the world, those of Mexico were hithertho comparatively sealed up. And as we cannot but suppose that the authors had in view objects such as we have mentioned, it is, perhaps, our province to point out, what we consider to be the additions which they have made to the stores of information we already possessed respecting the civilization, manners, and arts of the primitive inhabitants of New

Spain. In order to do this properly, a succinct account of the chief writers and their works, that have previously illustrated, in any way, the annals of Mexico, will be desirable: this, and a detail of the contents of the work before us, will better enable us to ascertain what has been the quantum of new light imparted by it, what Mexican manuscripts appear, for the first time, in the present collection, and how far former annalists have suffered from the want of these memorials.

It may not be amiss previously to say a few words on the state of the Old World, (we mean the European portion of it,) at the time of the discovery and conquest of the New, and to trace the outline of that influence or sensation which they at first produced on the minds and fortunes of Europeans, as well as continued to exercise from one period to another; which latter may be best done by directing the attention of the reader, as we go along, to some of the various opinions advanced and adopted from time to time, relative to the degree of civilization and grandeur supposed to be exhibited by the original inhabitants of Peru and Mexico. We shall represent this influence, and these opinions, according as they are to be gleaned, in our humble judgment, from the accounts of the first conquerors and historians, and from the statements of subsequent and successive writers.

When we take a survey of those periods in European history, more or less remote from each other, which have been distinguished as epochs, during which the human mind, in its struggles to advance in the grand march of improvement, has made extraordinary efforts, and been crowned with proportionate success, we cannot, perhaps, look to a more conspicuous one than the beginning of the sixteenth century. There were, at that juncture, so many grand objects of a multifarious nature to occupy the faculties of men, that it is difficult to say which was the most stirring and important: discoveries were then made, the influence of which will descend to the remotest posterity, and events happened which gave a new direction to the pursuits of nations. To the excitement of that age, nothing, perhaps, presents so near a parallel as that of the present. The discoveries by Columbus of the Western World, and by Vasco de Gama of the new road to the Eastern, towards the end of the fifteenth century, formed the commencement of, and by their success gave a stimulus to, that spirit of adventure which, cautious and feeble at first, advanced at length with a rapidity and force that burst through all the limits within which ignorance and fear had hitherto circumscribed the activity of the human race. And, subsequently, at short intervals, the successful exploits of Cortez in North, and of Pizarro in South America,

at last realized that full career of glorious enterprize and splendid achievement which the previous good fortune of successive adventurers seemed to prognosticate. In addition to all this, may be stated the singular coincidence, that the contemporary sovereigns of the principal European states were more potent and magnificent than, perhaps, at any other previous or subsequent era; the office of Pope was held by Leo the Tenth; Charles the Fifth was Monarch of Spain, and at the death of Maximilian made Emperor of Germany; Francis the First was King of France, and Henry the Eighth, of England; and the Turkish Empire was under the sway of Solyman the Magnificent. Europe having been previously in a condition of profound peace, the struggles and intrigues in which some of these sovereigns became engaged, in order to obtain the crown which Maximilian had bequeathed, constitute another remarkable political feature of these times; but nothing at this period so much excited the public attention, if we except the conquests of Cortez and Pizarro, as the progress which the Reformation was beginning to make under Luther. A Reformation, indeed, which, while it altered those forms of religion hitherto established in particular states—and hence, necessarily, the collateral systems of polity by which they were governed,—tended to introduce others that have been destined to stand unshaken scarcely three centuries; and now,—our ancestors of the sixteenth century having witnessed the partial demolition of false schemes of religion, (as they are now generally held to be,)—we are beginning to witness, to all appearance, the breaking-up of some of the no less corrupt and ill-founded systems of national policy. In this respect, we apprehend, we are warranted in likening the commencement of the nineteenth century to that of the sixteenth.

Hence we see that the influence which the voyages of Columbus and Gama had over the public mind of Europe, had been very considerable; the governments of several of its states, taking advantage of the enthusiasm kindled in the people by the tidings of their success, and more particularly of those who came after them, fitted out expeditions for further discovery or conquest; and England and France,—whose commerce and manufactures were then but in their infancy, especially the former,—may date from this period the commencement of a spirit of maritime enterprise and of commercial prosperity. But this soul-stirring sensation was not confined to governments or the multitude; men of science and learning, capable of comprehending the nature and of discerning the effects of these discoveries and conquests, received the accounts of them with admiration and joy. They

spoke of them with rapture,* and congratulated one another upon their felicity in having lived at a time when the boundaries of human knowledge were to be so much extended, and such new fields of inquiry and observation opened, as would lead mankind to a more complete acquaintance with the structure and productions of the habitable globe. If such were the acclamations which greeted the first fruits of the efforts of these chivalrous adventurers, who united in their undertakings religious fervour with the spirit of avarice, it is not to be wondered at if the like feelings were strengthened as they were prolonged, and that almost every ship which reached a home port was expected to bring an account of some fresh enterprise undertaken, some hitherto unknown region explored, or new victories accomplished. All that was reported was eagerly devoured, and readily believed. Nor was the excitement confined to the parent-country of the respective heroes; it spread throughout Europe, though now becoming engaged in the warlike affairs of Germany,—and was the primary cause of inspiring the merchants, the navigators, and even the courtiers of England, with the vehement desire, already partially kindled, of emulating the glory of Spain. In addition to these rumours, which lasted for some time, intelligence of a more credible kind was naturally looked for; and the accounts of the first Spanish conquerors and visitors, as they came out in their writings, contributed not a little to change into a settled conviction, the previous doubting belief of the magnificence and civilization of the natives of these newly acquired provinces. That these writers should occasionally deal in hyperbole is not much to be wondered at, considering the propensity there would naturally be in men born in a dark age,—when introduced to habits of life, constitutions, and manners, to which they were heretofore total strangers,—to magnify what they saw, in the first heat of astonishment, and to overstrain the picture beyond its natural proportions. Hence lofty ideas of the grandeur and riches of the New World became apparent even in the topics of common dis-

* From a passage in Peter Martyr's Letters we learn what were the sentiments of exultation with which the learned men of Europe were affected by these accounts:—"Præ lætitiâ prosiluisse te, vixque a lachrymis præ guadio temperâsse, quando literas adspexisti meas, quibus de antipodum orbe latenti hactenus, te certiorem feci, mi suavissime Pomponi, insinuasti. Ex tuis ipse literis colligo, quid senseris. Sensisti autem, tantique rem fecisti, quanti virum summa doctrina insignitum decuit. Quis namque cibus sublimibus præstari potest ingeniis, isto suavior? quod condimentum gratius? A me facio conjecturam. Beati sentio spiritus meos, quando accitos alloquor prædentes aliquos ex his qui ab ea redeunt provincia. Implicent animos pecuniarum cumulis augendis miseri avari, libidinibus obscœni; nostras nos mentes, postquam Deo pleni aliquando fuerimus, contemplando, hujuscemodi rerum notitia demulciamus."—*Epist.* 152. *Pomponio Læto.*

course, and entered at length into the poetry and literature of that and the succeeding age. Thus our Milton, in representing the angel Michael as leading Adam to the top of the highest hill of Paradise, whence he might command a view of the site of all the principal cities and countries of the world, says:—

> "————————in spirit he also saw
> Rich Mexico, the seat of Montezume,
> And Cusco in Peru, the richer seat
> Of Atabalipa; and yet unspoil'd
> Guiana, whose great city, Geryon's sons
> Call El Dorado."*

As to the accounts given of the aboriginal Americans by the earliest Spanish writers, there are, however, conflicting opinions; some contending that they convey faithful delineations, and are marked by a simplicity and fidelity in their descriptions not to be found in subsequent historians; while others maintain that the conquerors of the New World were illiterate adventurers, destitute of all the ideas which should have guided them in contemplating objects so extremely different from those with which they were acquainted; that not only did their ignorance disqualify them from judging correctly, but their Spanish prejudices rendered their accounts of the people of America extremely defective. Without stopping to examine the correctness of either of these views, further than by offering thereon a few incidental remarks *en passant*, we shall proceed to give a short account of the chief writers on Mexico of the sixteenth century.

The first that presents himself is Fernando Cortez; whose four letters to the Emperor Charles V. are historical monuments, not only first in order of time, but of the greatest authenticity and value. They contain a regular and minute history of the expedition and conquest of Mexico, and many curious particulars respecting the policy and manners of the Mexicans. Three of them were published in the Spanish, and afterwards in the Latin and Italian languages; for the first, according to Robertson, was never made public, nor could he get a sight of it, though he made diligent search for a copy, while writing his history, both in Spain and Germany. The Abbé Clavigero, however, makes no exception, and speaks of them as if he had read them all. He appears to confound the first with the second letter, which last was published at Seville in 1522, and the third and fourth soon after they were received. They are entitled to considerable credit from the modesty and sincerity of the narrative.

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* Paradise Lost, Book ii. v. 406—11.

The "Cronica de la Nueva Espagna," by Francisco Lopez de Gomara, was published in 1554. The materials of this work were drawn from information received from the conquerors and the writings of the first missionaries, and digested probably by the desire of Cortez himself, to whom the author was domestic chaplain. Gomara was the first who published an account of the festivals, rites and laws of the Mexicans, and the method by which they computed time. His work betrays, from the communications which he received not having been altogether true and accurate, a degree of credulity, excusable, perhaps; but a conspicuous defect is observable in him, of ascribing exclusively to his hero Cortez the whole fame of the exploits he narrates. His style is clear, flowing, always agreeable, and sometimes elegant. He wrote also "La Historia General de las Indias."

The next author of note is Bernal Diaz del Castillo, considered the most artless of all the *Historiadores Primitivos*. He composed his "Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espagna" in a fit of indignation at the glaring partiality of Gomara in omitting in his history all mention of him and his fellow-soldiers, the companions of Cortez. It was not printed, however, till the year 1632, at Madrid, in one folio volume. It contains a prolix, minute, and confused description of all Cortez's operations, written in rather a coarse and homely style; but as he was an eye-witness of all that he relates, and bore a considerable part in many of the transactions, his account is much relied on; being accompanied, moreover, with such a pleasant *naiveté* of detail and amusing vanity in the narration of facts, as to render it a most singular and interesting production. Dr. Robertson is much indebted to Bernal Diaz in that portion of his history more particularly relating to Mexico.

Passing over a short though clever narrative contained in Ramusio's "Raccolta delle Navigazioni e Viaggi" by an author who is styled "Anonymous Conqueror," and a few other inferior writers, we come to Bernardino de Sahagun, a laborious Spanish Franciscan, of whom, as his General History of New Spain is now printed, for the first time, in the publication of Mr. Aglio, we shall speak more particularly hereafter.

But the most celebrated of the writers of this period on the affairs of Mexico, and one whose book has been more read and consulted throughout Europe than, perhaps, any other on the subject, is Joseph d'Acosta, a learned Spanish Jesuit. After having resided some years in both Americas, and informed himself, from experienced people, of the customs of those nations, he composed his famous work "Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias," which was published about the year 1590. It was

speedily translated into the various languages of Europe and into Latin. It is well written, and displays considerable acquaintance with the physical condition of the New World. But what rendered it peculiarly valuable, and tended to attract so much attention to it, was the circumstance of its containing the first intelligible account of the system of picture-writing practised among the Mexicans, the nature of their Calendar, and of the Quipos, &c. of the Peruvians. It is not without its blunders in these and other respects, however, which have been fully demonstrated by succeeding writers.

The only other author, perhaps, of this century, whose name we should not be justified in omitting in this enumeration, is Bartolomé de Las Casas. The work of this ecclesiastic, "Brevissima relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias," written in favour of the Indians, who were so cruelly persecuted by the Spaniards, contains some particulars of the ancient history of the Mexicans, but so altered and exaggerated, that little reliance can be placed upon them, however respectable the writer may be in many respects. These distortions were owing rather to the circumstance of his not having been present at what he relates concerning Mexico, and trusting too much to information from others, than to any desire on his part to impose upon the world. The "Destruction of the Indians," published in 1552, was written to refute a horrible book put forth at Rome by one Sepulveda, who had undertaken to justify the outrages of the Spaniards by human and divine laws, and by the example of the Israelites, who subdued the people of Canaan. Las Casas presents in himself an eminent exemplar of a conscientious clergyman. He early adopted the opinion that it was unlawful to reduce the natives of America to slavery; and that he might demonstrate the sincerity of his conviction, he relinquished all the Indians who had fallen to his own share in the division of them among their conquerors. Besides the work above mentioned, he wrote, but never published, two others; one, a "History of the Climate and Soil of the Countries of America: and the Genius and Manners, &c., of the Americans under subjection to the Catholic King." The manuscript of this work, Remesal informs us, was preserved in the library of the Dominicans at Valladolid. The other was a "General History of America," in three volumes, folio; a copy of which was seen by Pinelo in the library of the Count of Villaumbrosa at Madrid, and two volumes of it were also discovered by him in the archives of Simancas, that sepulchre of so many precious manuscripts on America. In addition to these, and to show the bold and honest determination of the man for the cause he had espoused, Las Casas wrote a very curious Latin treatise

upon this question: "Whether kings or princes can in conscience, by any right, or by virtue of any title, alienate citizens and subjects from their natural allegiance, and reduce them to a new and foreign jurisdiction?"

The ardour with which America had been the subject of investigation began to diminish from the commencement of the seventeenth century. Historians of a different stamp now entered the field; and the simple but correct narratives of the first travellers were superseded for a while by the more laboured descriptions of the declamatory school, the materials of which were, for the most part, deduced from the writings of the preceding annalists. There is, however, considerable difference in the degree of credit to be attached to these: some evince candour and a judicious appreciation of the topics that come under their notice, while others lean so much to the side of eulogy of particular parties, as to give their statements rather the air of a panegyric than of impartial and sober history. As belonging to the former class, we may mention Antonio de Herrera, the fullest and, on the whole, most accurate writer on Mexico, and America in general, of the seventeenth century. In his "Eight Decads of the History of America," he displays great industry and acquaintance with all the records he could obtain tending to throw any light on the subject of his inquiries, combined with strict impartiality and a correct judgment. With the relation of the actions of the Spaniards, he does not omit the ancient history of the Americans. In his account of the Mexicans he copies for the most part Acosta and Gomara. The strict chronological method he has thought proper to adopt is objectionable, inasmuch as it interrupts very inconveniently the regular connexion of a train of events that ought not to be disjoined. Nevertheless his work may be looked upon as one of the most judicious and useful of historical collections.

The next author of importance who flourished in this age, but who can hardly be classed with either of the two kinds we have mentioned, was Torquemada, a Spanish Franciscan. His "Monarquia Indiana" appeared at Madrid about the year 1614, in three volumes, folio. The advantages which this writer possessed in having resided fifty years among the Mexicans, and acquired their language, enabled him to give a more complete account of the antiquities of Mexico than any of his predecessors. Accordingly, he has collected an immense mass of important facts, and discovers an accurate knowledge of local circumstances; and being fortunate in arriving at the city of Tenochtitlan at a period when the natives were yet in possession of a great number of historical paintings, he got hold of several of them, and made use

of the excellent manuscripts belonging to Sahagun, Olmos, and Benavente. Notwithstanding all these advantages, however, his defects are very conspicuous. He is often fanciful, superfluously learned, and inclined to the marvellous; and in respect to the chronology and calendars of the Mexicans, he speaks generally in so confused a manner, that it may be supposed he had misconceived most of what the Indians had told him relative to their astronomical phenomena. "Torquemada," says an enlightened traveller, "has collected with the most scrupulous exactness, names, traditions, and isolated facts; but, being utterly destitute of judgment, he contradicts himself whenever he endeavours to combine facts, or judge of their natural relations." Nevertheless, there is much curious and valuable matter comprised in his work: consequently, the labour of searching for the *aurum e stercore* must be undergone by him who would desire to profit from its pages. The History of Mexico, by Betancourt, under the title of the "Mexican Theatre," is little else, in respect to the ancient part, than an epitome of Torquemada.

Of all the Spanish annalists of Mexican affairs who lived during this century, none are better known, or have been more frequently had recourse to for information by modern readers, than Antonio de Solis. He is an elegant and ingenious writer, but his "Historia de la Conquista de Mexico," is more an encomium than a history. His manner is declamatory and laboured, but his language is chaste and polished, and exhibits a pure model of the Castilian tongue. He studies embellishment rather than truth, is often paradoxical, and delights in contradicting authors of acknowledged credit. Ever solicitous to exalt the character of Cortez into that of a perfect hero, exempt from error, and adorned with every virtue, he sacrifices the indispensable attributes of a great historian for the pitiful pleadings of an avowed panegyrist. The speeches interspersed through his history are, like those of Livy and Thucydides, mostly of his own manufacture, though eloquent compositions. Hence the literary fame of De Solis appears to have been elevated far beyond his merits. There is little doubt, indeed, but that the fulsome and extravagant style of colouring which characterized the productions of this author and others of his school, was one of the principal actuating causes of the springing up, in the following century, of a band of philosophical writers, sceptical in regard to the accounts received of America, to whom we shall presently have occasion to refer.

One of the most comprehensive writers of this time on the antiquities of Mexico was Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora; whose Spanish works, had they been preserved, would have

thrown much light on Mexican story; but through the negligence of the heirs of the learned author, who was professor of mathematics in the university of his native country, the greater part was lost, and only some fragments are said to remain in the works of Gemelli, Betancourt, and Florencia. He was the greatest connoisseur in Azteck antiquities of his age; he had made, at a vast expense, a large and choice collection of ancient pictures and manuscripts, (which were unfortunately destroyed in a great fire at Mexico in 1692,) and applied himself with much assiduity, and many advantages, to illustrate the antiquities of Mexico. Besides those before alluded to, he composed many works, mathematical, critical, historical, and political, some of which were printed at the capital of New Spain, from the year 1680 to 1693. Gemelli Carreri, in his travels through Mexico, was under great obligations to Siguenza, and published from his collection two specimens of Azteck picture-writing, of which more hereafter.

We purposely omit some good writers, and Peter Martyr of Angleria among them, and several inferior ones, both of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and hasten to introduce some notice of the Milanese traveller, Boturini Benaducci. In 1736 he crossed the seas with no other view than to study on the spot the history of the native tribes of America. To this end, he made himself acquainted with the Mexican language; traversed the country to examine and collect the remains of its historical monuments; made researches into its antiquities; entered into friendship with many of the native Indians, to obtain their ancient pictures; and procured copies of many valuable manuscripts which were in the libraries of the monasteries. The museum which he formed was the most numerous and select ever seen in that country next to the one of the celebrated Siguenza; it contained nearly five hundred hieroglyphical paintings and manuscripts, notwithstanding the enormous quantity of them burnt as monuments of idolatry by the first bishops and missionaries. Among the curiosities of this collection may be mentioned the original of two hymns, composed fifty years before the conquest, by Nezahualcojotl,* king of Acolhuacan, or Tezcuco,

* This king wrote in the Azteck or Mexican language sixty hymns in honour of the Supreme Being, and two elegies. The great nephew of Nezahualcojotl, baptized under the name of Ferdinand Abba Ixtilxochitl, translated a part of these verses into Spanish; one of the elegies was on the destruction of the city of Azcapozalco, and the other lamented the instability of human greatness in the person of the tyrant Tezozomoc, whom the poet compares to a large and stately tree, which had extended its roots through many countries, and spread the shade of its green branches over all the lands of the empire, but at last, worm-eaten and wasted, fell to the earth, never to resume its youthful verdure.

a sovereign equally remarkable for his superior intellect, and the wisdom of his legislation. The proprietor of this splendid collection, the result of nine years researches, published in 1746 "*Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional,*" containing the prospectus of the great history he contemplated, (which was never published,) and a catalogue of the curiosities in his museum. A considerable part of this Boturini had transmitted to Europe, but the ship in which the articles were sent was taken by an English privateer during the war between Great Britain and Spain, and it was never known whether the paintings among them reached England, or whether they were thrown into the sea as of no value. It is not at all improbable that some of the *Codices Mexicani* now at Oxford may have been saved, and have descended to us, from this capture. Boturini himself, having the misfortune soon after to incur the displeasure or suspicion of the Spanish government, was sent as a state prisoner to Madrid, and was, in consequence, deprived of all his literary treasures, which were confiscated, and remained buried in the archives of the viceroyalty at Mexico. These valuable relics of the literature of the Aztecks were preserved with so little care, and in course of time so torn, pillaged, and dispersed, by persons ignorant of their worth, that there scarcely existed, when Humboldt arrived there, an eighth part of the hieroglyphical manuscripts taken from Boturini. A feeling of indignation comes over us on hearing of the fate which attended these valuable remains, which had cost so much care and labour, and which the unfortunate Boturini, fired with that enthusiasm that is peculiar to enterprising men, calls, in his Historical Essay, "the only property which he possessed in the Indies, and which he would not change for all the gold and silver of the New World." A small part of this museum came into the hands of Lorenzana, when he was primate of New Spain, of whom we shall have to speak by and by.

The chief collectors of Mexican antiquities of more recent times have been MM. Gama and P. Jose Antonio Pichardo. The house of the latter was to the Baron de Humboldt, when he visited Mexico, what the house of Siguenza was to the traveller Gemelli. Pichardo sacrificed his fortune in collecting hieroglyphical manuscripts, and in copying those he was unable to purchase. His cabinet was also much enriched by his friend Gama's bequeathing to him all the most valuable paintings he possessed.

With the exception of the instance of Benaducci, the ardour of research into the antiquities of the ancient Americans may be

said to have been visibly on the decline at the beginning of the eighteenth century. A few Spanish and Mexican writers exercised their pens on subjects connected therewith, hardly worthy of being recorded; and some French, English, Italian, and German authors wrote on the old topics, some of them in a rather different spirit and manner from those in which the subject had hitherto been generally handled. The models of a well-regulated state, as regards its institutions, civil polity, and other circumstances, being, in the opinion of some of these philosophers, exhibited only by ancient Greece and Rome, they were unable to comprehend any other mode or condition of excellence in states. With the writers on America, this may be taken as the age of classicism; no modification of ancient civilization could be, in their opinion, worthy even of common regard, unless capable of being measured by that standard of perfection which the world had been so long accustomed to venerate. And this brings us to the mention of the name of De Pauw, who, in his "Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains," broached opinions very derogatory to the intellectual and physical condition of the inhabitants of the New World. He laid it down very confidently, that under the influence of an unfavourable climate, which checks and enervates the principle of life, man never attained in America the perfection which belongs to his nature, but remained an animal of an inferior order, defective in the vigour of his bodily frame, and destitute of sensibility, as well as force, in the operations of his mind. Others, and M. Buffon among them, struck with the appearance of degeneracy in the human species throughout the New World, broached the notion that this part of the globe had but lately emerged from the sea, and become fit for the residence of man; that every thing in it bore the marks of a recent origin; and that its inhabitants, lately called into existence, and still at the beginning of their career, were unworthy to be compared with the people of a more ancient and improved continent.

As a sort of counterpoise to these notions, however, it is true, another singular theory was started, founded upon no less erroneous premises; that, inasmuch as the rude simplicity of savage life displays an elevation of sentiment, an independence of mind, and a warmth of attachment, for which it is vain to search among the members of polished societies,—the most perfect state of man is that which is the least civilized. Consequently, the manners of the rude Americans were described by the philosophical advocates of this doctrine as models to the rest of the species. The most paradoxical of these writers have been ably answered, with, perhaps, too partial a leaning to the side of the

Americans, by Clavigero, in some dissertations appended to his "Storia di Messico:" and M. De Pauw found another antagonist also in the person of Dom Pernety, who characterizes his work in a few words, as containing "*assertions très-hasardées, pour ne rien dire de plus, avancées en même temps avec un ton affirmatif, un style vif, et une confiance qui devoient en imposer aux lecteur, peu au fait des matières qu'il traite.*"

As authors of inferior note, though of the same spirit, and charged with endeavouring to depreciate the natives of the New Continent, we may mention Thomas Gage and the Abbé Raynal. The former, an English friar, author of a "History of New Spain," is accused by Clavigero of having not only mixed fable with his statements, but of being guilty of deliberate falsehoods. Robertson, on the other hand, maintains, that his observations on the manners and laws of the Americans are those of an intelligent eye, wherever religious opinion was not in the way. The Abbé Raynal was a conspicuous writer of his day; on American affairs he was, undoubtedly, too full of singular conceits, and too subject to be led away by them; instead of calmly and impartially balancing the conflicting accounts and crotchets of previous historians and philosophers, he went so far "on the doubting side," as almost to disbelieve the pre-existence of the Mexican monarchy much before the Spaniards arrived in the country. He likewise rated the degree of civilization attained by the Mexicans far too low.

But of all the historians of America, whether of ancient or modern date, none has attained so much celebrity as Dr. Robertson. That author's previous History of Charles the Fifth had prepared the world to expect something from his hands superior to any preceding account of the New World, and corresponding to the high opinion which had been cherished of his genius and ability; and, on the whole, he did not disappoint it. Views and sketches of America (as they might be called, comparatively speaking,) had been given by able writers, and splendid portions of its story had been adorned with all the beauties of eloquence; but prior to Robertson, no author had bestowed upon it the mature and profound investigation which such a subject required, or had finished upon a regular plan, that complete narration and perfect whole, which it is the province of the historian to transmit to posterity. It is true his advantages were considerable; his intimacy with Lord Grantham, then the English ambassador at Madrid, procured him such a rare collection of Spanish books and manuscripts as had been seldom, or, perhaps, never possessed by any other individual; so much the greater, then, must be our regret

that at the death of the owner of it, this choice library should have been dispersed. It is singular, however, considering the time and assiduity alleged to have been employed by him, in endeavouring to gain information from all quarters of what might illustrate his labours, that his work should exhibit so many flagrant instances of want of knowledge. That he should have been ignorant of several specimens of Mexican remains in the hands of obscure individuals, or even in continental repositories, may perhaps be passed over as venial; but that he should not have known the existence of a fine collection of Azteck paintings in the principal library of his native kingdom, is scarcely to be accounted for, unless we suppose that, attaching but little importance to such relics, he did not institute a very rigid inquiry after them, resting contented with what in that respect might be accidentally supplied to him, in addition to what was previously known.* The want of a better acquaintance with the Mexican manuscripts and specimens of art than those he has mentioned, has led him to make some incautious statements founded upon the latter, which have been taken up by succeeding writers to his discredit; for his "History" has been much commented on, and by men of opposite ways of thinking. The general opinion of his work seems at present to be that, besides the defects just pointed out, it is too much abridged in that part relating to the original inhabitants of Mexico—the Toltecks and the Aztecks;—that in his examination and judgment of facts, and of the representations of the early annalists, he is too severe, and some times erroneous; and that he has hardly done justice to the Indian character. The style of his narrative was, at the time he wrote, generally considered faultless; it is now thought too artificial, too uniform, and to display a want of ease. But Robertson was a classicist; and his faults, whatever they were, both of matter and manner, are principally to be attributed to the school to which he belonged. One of the most vehement of his castigators was the Jesuit Clavigero, in a "History of Mexico," published soon after the appearance of Dr. Robertson's work. His strictures chiefly relate to the remarks of the Scottish historian as to the slender knowledge of the institutions and customs of the Americans to be derived from the ancient monuments of Mexico, the paucity and ambiguity of the picture-writings, and the imperfect materials found scattered in the Spanish writers. To observations of this nature, and to other rather extravagant notions adopted from De Pauw, of the intellectual incapabilities of the Mexicans, Clavigero replied with,

* This notion of ours is confirmed, we think, by the observations which Robertson makes in his notes relative to the *Vienna Codex*.

perhaps, too great a degree of vehemence and warmth, and with a palpable prepossession in favour of the contrary sentiments. Dr. Robertson inquired patiently into the truth of the charges brought against him by the Italian historian, and published the result of his inquiry in 1788; the justice of some of them he admitted, and others he endeavoured to refute. The additional information of later years on the subject of America, conveyed through the pages of such writers as Humboldt, Southey, and others, has furnished better founded grounds of objection to some of the statements of Robertson. We are inclined to think, however, that the censures passed upon him by the historian of Brazil are rather too severe, and hardly warranted by the weight of the objections.

Soon after the first edition of Robertson's book, came out the "Storia di Messico," by the Abbé Clavigero, already mentioned, a tedious and voluminous work, and altogether too highly coloured and poetical in its delineations; but the registration of facts and events connected with the early history of Mexico, not before known, and the general minuteness of its detail, coupled with the circumstance of the author's having resided nearly forty years in the provinces of New Spain, acquired the Mexican language, and studied their manuscripts and other monuments of antiquity, attracted towards it considerable attention. It is true that the facts of his history, though attested by a crowd of witnesses often hostile to each other, were, at first, owing to peculiar circumstances, regarded as extremely doubtful. He demands for his performance credit for diligence of research and integrity of narration:—"In somma," says he, "ho avuto sempre mai d'avanti agl' occhj quelle due sante leggi della storia, di non osar dire il falso, nè temer di dire il vero, e mi lusingo di non avervi contravenuto." The most interesting parts of his work are the dissertations annexed to it, wherein the author undertakes to handle, with great show of candour and acquaintance with his subject, some of the most flagrant misconceptions and misrepresentations of writers on the moral, intellectual, and physical condition of the aborigines of Mexico.

Since the end of the last century, a fortunate revolution has taken place in the manner of examining the civilization of nations, and the causes which impede or favour its progress. We have become acquainted with countries, the customs, institutions, and arts of which differ almost as widely from those of the Greeks and Romans, as the primitive forms of extinct races of animals differ from those of the species which are the objects of descriptive natural history. We may instance, in proof of this change, the researches instituted with such success by a society at Calcutta, into the antiquities of the people of Asia, and those that have been carried on with, perhaps, still greater benefit, into the hierogly-

phical monuments of ancient Egypt; on those of the American continent, the investigations of Baron Humboldt appeared at an epoch in which no longer was deemed unworthy of attention whatever is not conformable to that style, of which the Greeks have left such inimitable models. To the labours of this learned and indefatigable traveller the world is chiefly indebted for the increased light thrown on the ancient state of the Mexican and Peruvian nations, by his collection and elucidation of their monumental remains. In his "Atlas Pittoresque," a magnificent work published at the beginning of the present century, he has brought together whatever relates to the origin and first progress of the arts among the people of America. The greater portion of the plates represent specimens of the remains of their architecture, sculpture, historical paintings and hieroglyphics, relative to their division of time, and the system of their calendar. In regard to the latter of these objects, Humboldt has been singularly happy; he has unfolded with great success the complicated method of chronology adopted by the Aztecks; and on comparing his explanations of their calendar with those of Clavigero, Gemelli, and Torquemada, we see how inaccurate in many respects were the notions hitherto entertained in regard to the Mexican almanack. But the principal object of this celebrated traveller and excellent man seems to have been to bring together pictures of the manners, arts, languages, and traditions of the New Continent, and to point out the analogies subsisting between them and those of the Old World, wherever they can be ascertained, without at the same time venturing to determine the secret causes of these resemblances, while no historical fact carries us back to the period of communication which existed between the inhabitants of different and remote climates. This work we regard as eminently calculated to supply a previous *desideratum* in the historical details of America; and the plan of it is, in so far, superior to the methods generally pursued by investigators of the monuments, languages, and traditions of nations. The author has avoided founding any particular hypothesis on insufficient grounds; he frankly lays before his readers the result of his observations and researches,—like the summing up of an impartial judge,—and leaves them to form their own conjectures as to the origin of a people on which it is vain to offer any decisive opinion, knowing that the human mind, notwithstanding the difference of external circumstances as to time and place, will frequently develope itself in the same manner: "Tant il est vrai," says M. Visconti, "que l'esprit de l'homme, malgré la difference des siècles et des climats, est disposé à agir de la même manière dans des circonstances pareilles, sans avoir besoin ni de tradition ni d'exemple." M. de

Humboldt was fortunate enough, in his visit to the "Yellow skies of Mexico," to possess himself of several Azteck hieroglyphical paintings, which are now deposited in the royal library of Berlin, fac-similes of which, as we shall presently see, adorn the work of Mr. Aglio.

Waiving in the present account any notice of some minor authors on the same subject, either because the substance of their lucubrations is contained in the works of those we have mentioned, or that their views and investigations have not gained sufficient notoriety to entitle them to be brought within the scope of this article,—we shall now proceed to notice such publications as have already exhibited engravings of Mexican paintings, that by so doing we may be able to ascertain which of Mr. Aglio's *Codices* appear for the first time, and in so far are an addition to the previously existing stock.

The most remarkable specimen of Mexican picture-writing with which the world was for a long time acquainted, is that published by Purchas in his "Pilgrimage," generally denominated the Collection of Mendoza, from the circumstance that Don Antonio Mendoza, made viceroy of New Spain not long after the conquest, sent these paintings as a present to Charles the Fifth; the ship in which they were transmitted was taken by a French cruiser, and hence they came into the hands of Andrew Thevet, geographer to the king of France, who had himself visited the New World. At his death they were purchased by Hakluyt, who was then chaplain to the English embassy at Paris; from the French capital they went to London, and being bequeathed by Hakluyt to Purchas, wood-engravings of them were published by him in 1625, at the instance of Sir Henry Spelman, the antiquary. This collection of pictorial manuscripts, termed by Purchas "one of his choicest jewels," was originally accompanied with interpretations in the Mexican language, which were thence translated into the Spanish, and after it came into the possession of Hakluyt, the Spanish explanations were further transferred into English by Michael Locke, at the request of Sir Walter Raleigh. It is divided into three parts. The first contains the history of the Mexican empire under its ten monarchs. The second is a tribute-roll, representing what each conquered town paid into the royal treasury. The third is a code of Mexican institutions, domestic, political, and military. In 1692, a copy of these paintings, together with a fresh version from English into French, was published by Melchizedeck Thevenot in the second volume of his work entitled "Relation de divers Voyages curieux;" but this copy abounds with faults and transpositions. Kircher also republished a fac-simile of the first paintings from the

copy of Purchas, in his "Œdipus Egyptiacus." We have already observed that Robertson was ignorant, and Humboldt not fully certain, that the originals of "Mendoza," (as they have been generally thought to be,) were lodged among the Selden manuscripts in the Bodleian library at Oxford. The manuscript is now discovered, however, not to be original; the outline of the figures is done with a pen, and they are drawn on European paper. It is the same as Hakluyt bought at the death of Thevet, whose name is written on several of the pages; having afterwards become the property of Purchas in the manner he relates, it is possible Selden obtained it from him,—or what, perhaps, is more probable,—from his intimate friend Sir Henry Spelman, to whom it might be left by Purchas, and afterwards descend into the possession of Selden. The reasonableness of this latter supposition is considerably increased by the order of the deaths of these three great antiquaries.

The next specimen of the graphic art of the inhabitants of Anahuac was given to the world in two plates by Gemelli Carreri, an Italian traveller, in a work entitled "Giro del Mondo." The first of these engravings represents the progress of the Aztecks on their first arrival in the country, and of the various stations in which they settled before they founded the capital of their empire, Tenochtitlan. The second is a chronological wheel, or circle, representing the manner in which they computed and marked their cycle of fifty-two years. These, together with the portraits of Mexican kings in the same work, he received from Siguenza, who was living at Mexico when Gemelli arrived there, and of whom mention has been made as a diligent collector of Mexican documents, and who was the inheritor, besides, of the hieroglyphic paintings of a noble Indian, Juan de Alba Ixtlilxochitl. It was for a long time believed that this work of Carreri was a fictitious tour, and Dr. Robertson, as well as other historians, thought proper to impugn his credibility; but later writers, particularly Clavigero and Humboldt, have put it beyond a doubt that Gemelli as certainly saw what he describes in Mexico, as that Denon was in Egypt, or Mr. Salt in Abyssinia. Meanwhile the copies of these Azteck paintings were comparatively neglected, inasmuch as they were found in a book resting under the imputation of being a mass of falsehood and imposture. M. de Humboldt has at length rescued it from the consequences of this extraordinary scepticism, and thus satisfactorily proved the authenticity of the engravings.

The third published specimen of Mexican hieroglyphics was taken from the remains of Boturini's collection, which he left in New Spain at his departure;—part of his museum, as we

have already observed, having been captured on its way to Europe. Cardinal Lorenzana, into whose hands some of the remaining portion fell, published from it a curious tribute-roll in thirty-two plates, along with the figure of the Mexican year. Clavigero, who inspected them, says, that the paintings of the tributes are the same with Mendoza's, but that they are better executed, and have the figures of the tributary cities, which are wanting in those of Purchas and Thevenot. We are told by Mr. Aglio, however, that the symbols of the tributary cities in Lorenzana are engraved in the most incorrect manner, and that the explanation is full of errors.

The fourth publication of copies of Azteck paintings was by Dr. Robertson, who, in his history, gave a few pages of the *Codex Mexicanus* at Vienna, in outline only. The whole collection consists of fifty-two pages in the first part, and thirteen in the second. Of all the Mexican manuscripts which exist in the libraries of Europe, that of Vienna is the oldest known. According to a Latin note in the first page, it would seem to have been a present from King Emanuel of Portugal to Pope Clement the Seventh; as well as to have subsequently been in the possession of the Cardinals Hippolito de Medicis and Capuanus. It is mentioned by Nessel * and Lambeccius† in their catalogues: and the latter observes, that as King Emanuel was dead two years before the election of Pope Clement the Seventh, this manuscript could not have been given to this last pontiff, but rather to Leo the Tenth, to whom Emanuel sent an embassy in 1513. But as this latter account appears from the dates to be as improbable as the former, (for no Mexican manuscripts could have been in Europe in 1513,) we are only able to conclude as certain, that, at whatever period it reached Italy, after having passed from hand to hand, it was offered in 1677 to the Emperor Leopold by the Duke of Saxe-Eisenach. It has been stated that this painting was executed on human skin; but this is an erroneous assertion, and it is probable, according to Humboldt, who examined it in 1811, that it is a skin of the *mazatl*, which naturalists call the Louisiana stag, an animal common in the north of Mexico. The fact of this *codex* having no interpretation annexed, detracts from its value. M. de Humboldt imagined it might treat of astrological matters, but Dr. Robertson does not attempt (very prudently, perhaps,) to hazard a conjecture as to its meaning.

Soon after the first edition of Dr. Robertson's history came out, Mr. Waddilove discovered in the library of the Escurial a Mexican

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* Nessel, Catal. Biblioth. Cæsareæ, tom. vi. p. 163.

† Lambeccii Commentar. de Bibliotheca Cæsar. Vindobonensi, ed. 1776. p. 966.

Calendar, according to which, as is alleged, though varying from ascertained facts, the Azteck year contained 286 days, divided into 22 months and 13 days. A fac-simile of this manuscript never having been published that we are aware of, beyond the mention of it made by some eminent writers, it seems hardly relevant to our purpose to dwell upon it. We may just observe that it has been suspected to be only a copy of a Mexican manuscript, from the circumstance of its being in the form of a folio, whereas the generality of these MSS. are of the quarto size, and, moreover, from its having entirely escaped the notice of any Spanish author. At the bottom of each page is an explanation in Spanish, which has been added since the conquest.

The Abbé Clavigero, in his account of Azteck paintings, known to exist when he wrote, mentions a collection in the Vatican at Rome, (of which Robertson, as we have remarked, was ignorant,) but that he had had no opportunity of applying there to consult them. What Clavigero could not do, M. de Humboldt has done; he has discovered and examined two remarkable *Codices Mexicani* at Rome, numbered 3738 and 3776; and has given in the thirteenth plate of his "Atlas" an exact copy of one of the folds, or a page of the latter, which is called the "Little Vatican." Nine figures taken from the *Codex Anonymus*, No. 3738, representing "Costumes delineated by the Mexican painters in the time of Montezuma," have been published in the fourteenth plate; also "Epochs of Nature according to the Azteck mythology," in plate 26, and other symbolical figures from the same manuscript in plate 60th.

Besides the *Codices Vaticani*, the labours of this eminent traveller have produced numerous specimens of Mexican art, and thereby added very considerably to our archæological knowledge of the New Continent. He has illustrated the subject of Azteck paintings more than any writer that has gone before him; and has been, we believe, a principal guide to Mr. Aglio in directing him where to find the collections with which he has enriched his splendid performance. We shall mention those plates only of his *Atlas Pittoresque* that have a more immediate relation to our purpose, premising that Humboldt speaks of but six grand collections of Mexican manuscripts existing at present in Europe, namely, those of the Escurial, Bologna, Veletri, Rome, Vienna, and Berlin. To these he does not, however, forget to add the manuscripts of Dresden, of Paris, of Mendoza and Gemelli. Fragments of the Berlin collection are given in four plates, the 12th, 36th, 38th, and 57th; of the Vatican in four, namely 13th, 14th, 26th, and 60th; of the Veletri in three, the 15th, 27th, and 37th; and of the Vienna in three, namely, the 46th, 47th, and

48th. The collection preserved in the royal library at Berlin contains different Azteck paintings which Humboldt procured during his travels in New Spain. Some of them formerly belonged to the Chevalier Boturini, and were executed posterior to the arrival of the Spaniards on the coast of Anahuac. The *Codex Vaticanus*, No. 3738, was copied in 1566 by Pedro de los Rios, a Dominican monk, from pictures made by Mexican painters, at the time of the first abode of Cortez at Tenochtitlan. In this respect it resembles the collection of Mendoza; the outlines of the figures are done with a pen, and in an extremely coarse style of drawing. According to Lord Kingsborough, Acosta mentions this Codex in a passage in the 19th chapter of the 2nd Book of his "Natural History of the Indies;" and he moreover asserts, that the only paintings to which Acosta can refer, as at all suiting his purpose, are those contained in the third part of this Codex. Zoëga and Humboldt are of opinion that it was No. 3776 of which Acosta and Kircher have taken notice, which is the only original painting in the Vatican library at present known, (if we omit some few remnants of the Boturini museum,) though Mercati, in a work * already referred to, relates that towards the end of the 16th century, two collections of *original* manuscripts existed in the Vatican. How the two *codices* we have just noticed got there, we are not informed. Of all the Mexican paintings preserved in Italy, the Codex Borgianus of Veletri, now removed to Rome, is the largest and the most remarkable for the splendour and extreme variety of the colours. The manuscript once belonged to the family of Giustiniani, from whom it came, in a rather mutilated state, into the hands of the Cardinal Borgia. The great freshness of the colours might lead us to suspect (says Humboldt) that the Codex Borgianus, as well as of the Vatican, does not go beyond the fourteenth century. The histories of the Escurial, Vienna, and Mendoza collections have already been given. The collection of Bologna is deposited in the library of the Institute of Sciences in that city. We are unacquainted with its origin, but we read in the first page that this painting, traced on a thick and ill-prepared skin, was ceded in 1665 by Count Valerio Zani to the Marquis of Caspi. An engraved copy of it exists in the Borgian Museum.

In the 45th plate of the "Atlas Pittoresque," we find an engraving of "Fragments of a hieroglyphical MS. preserved in the Royal Library of Dresden." The first information respecting this singular specimen of Mexican writing was communicated

* Mercati, "Degli Obelischi di Roma," 1589, c. 2, p. 96.

by M. Böttiger in a work* which displays the most extensive acquaintance with the paintings of barbarous nations as well as of the Hindoos, the Persians, the Chinese, the Egyptians, and the Greeks. According to him, this Azteck manuscript was purchased at Vienna by the Librarian Gotze, in 1739. It is on paper of *metl*, (*Agave Americana*,) containing forty leaves, covered with paintings on both sides. What renders this manuscript remarkable, is the disposition of the simple hieroglyphics, many of which are arranged in lines, as in a real symbolic writing; a great number follow each other without connection, as in the Egyptian hieroglyphics and the keys of the Chinese.

"Fragments of Hieroglyphic Paintings taken from the Codex Telleriano-Remensis," are represented in plates 55 and 56. This volume, into which Pedro de los Rios (mentioned above) copied, either toward the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century, a great number of hieroglyphical paintings, belonged formerly to Le Tellier, archbishop of Rheims, but it is not certain by what means it came into his hands. In its outward form it resembles the larger Vatican, No. 3738. The copies in this Codex, which belongs to the royal library at Paris, are in general very carefully made, and bear the character of original drawings. Each hieroglyphic figure is accompanied with explanations, written, as it appears, at Mexico, from the dictation of some of the natives. The notes of this MS. throw great light on the history, the chronology, and the religious rites of the Aztecks. In the circumstance of its being a copy, and not an original, the Codex Tellerianus resembles the Mendoza collection and the larger Vatican. It contains three different works; the first, a ritual almanack; the second, a book of astrology; and the third, divided into two parts in Aglio's work, contains a Mexican History, from the year five *tochtli*, or 1197, to the year four *calli*, or 1561. It is asserted that an original Mexican Calendar, painted on paper of the Agave, and very much resembling this Codex of Le Tellier in the disposition of the signs of the days in the year round the figures of the principal Mexican idols, is preserved in the library of the Chamber of Deputies in Paris. How is it, then, that a fac-simile of this calendar is not inserted by Mr. Aglio in the present collection?

Having now taken a review of most of the principal writers on ancient Mexico, and enumerated and described the histories, as far as they are known, of these Azteck paintings, fac-similes of which have appeared, either whole or in part, anterior to the publication before us, we now proceed to particularize its contents, and to offer such remarks in passing as may seem necessary.

* Böttiger, Ideen zur Archæologie der Malerei, tom. 1, p. 17—21.

The contents of the First Volume are :—

1. Copy of the Collection of Mendoza preserved in the Selden Collection of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. 73 pages. Marked Arch. Seld. A. 1. Cat. MSS. Angl. 3134.

Here the first part of "Mendoza" ends with the 18th page; in Purchas, with the 13th. The second part contains thirty-nine pages, according to Aglio; in Purchas there are thirty-eight divisions, thirty-five of which have figures. In the third part both authors keep almost exactly together in the number and form of the plates and figures. In the first and second parts they diverge materially; the latter being taken from the tribute-roll of Lorenzana, many houses standing for towns conquered being inserted in Aglio's work which are not found in Purchas. The general execution of the former author, as regards brilliancy of colouring and embellishment, and faithfulness and neatness of imitation from the originals, (for we have inspected them at Oxford,) are not, of course, for a moment to be compared with the rude outline wood-cuts of the old antiquarian.

2. Copy of the Codex Telleriano-Remensis preserved in the Royal Library at Paris. 93 pages. Marked 14. Reg. 1616.

The first part takes up 13 pages; the second, 33; the third, 8; and the fourth, 39 pages.

3. Fac-simile of an Original Mexican Hieroglyphic Painting, from the Collection of Boturini. 23 pages.

This is not coloured; the original, we believe, is preserved in the Vatican, and the history of it is unknown.

4. Copy of an Original Mexican Painting, preserved in the Collection of Sir Thomas Bodley, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. 40 pages. Marked Arch. Bodl. H. 75 Cat. MSS. Angl. 2858.

5. Fac-simile of an Original Mexican Painting, preserved in the Selden Collection of MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. 20 pages. Marked Arch. Seld. A. 2. Cat. MSS. Angl. 3135.

6. Fac-simile of an Original Mexican Hieroglyphic Painting, preserved in the Selden Collection of MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. A roll marked Arch. Seld. A. Rot. 3 Cat. MSS. Angl. 3207.

This roll occupies twelve pages of Mr. Aglio's work.

The Second Volume contains:—

1. Copy of a Mexican MS. preserved in the library of the Vatican. 149 pages. Marked No. 3738.

2. Fac-simile of an Original Mexican Painting given to the University of Oxford, by Archbishop Laud, and preserved in the Bodleian Library. 46 pages. Marked Laud. B. 65 nunc 678. Cat. MSS. Angl. 546.

3. Fac-simile of an Original Mexican Painting, preserved in the library of the Institute at Bologna. 24 pages.

4. Fac-simile of an Original Mexican Painting preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. 65 pages.

5. Fac-similes of Original Mexican Paintings, deposited in the Royal Library at Berlin, by the Baron de Humboldt; and of a Mexican Bas-relief, preserved in the Royal Cabinet of Antiques.

The THIRD Volume comprises:—

1. Copy of an Original Mexican Painting, preserved in the Borgian Museum, at the College of Propaganda, in Rome. 76 pages.

This is truly magnificent and beautiful; one of the finest specimens in the collection.

2. Fac-simile of an Original Mexican Painting, preserved in the Royal Library at Dresden. 74 pages.

Figures and hieroglyphics similar to those of this manuscript were discovered on the walls of some buildings three or four hundred miles from Mexico, about twenty-five years ago, by M. Dupaix.

3. Fac-simile of an Original Mexican Painting, in the possession of M. De Fejérváry, at Pest, in Hungary.

4. Copy of an Original Mexican Painting, preserved in the library of the Vatican. 96 pages. No. 3776.

The contents of the FOURTH Volume are:

1. Monuments of New Spain, by M. Dupaix, from the original drawings executed by order of the King of Spain. In three parts.

The first part consists of sixteen plates, lithographed by Mr. Aglio. The second is not wholly lithographic. The third comprises views, buildings, &c. most of which are lithographed; among the drawings of this part is that of a very curious sacrificial stone, where twenty-four persons are made to represent the same number of territories. We here strikingly recognise in the figures, that peculiar formation of the head, and prominence of the nose, which are the essential characteristics of the monuments of Mexican sculpture. M. Dupaix, captain in the service of the King of Spain, having in early life improved his taste for the fine arts by a residence in Italy, made several excursions through New Spain, in 1805, 6, 7, to investigate the Mexican monuments; and in these volumes is contained the result of his travels.

2. Specimens of Mexican Sculpture, in the possession of M. Latour Allard, in Paris.

3. Specimens of Mexican Sculpture, preserved in the British Museum.

4. Plates copied from the "Giro del Mondo" of Gemelli Carreri; with an engraving of a Mexican Cycle, from a painting formerly in the possession of Boturini.

5. Specimen of Peruvian Quipos, with Plates, representing a carved Peruvian box, containing a collection of supposed Peruvian Quipos. Drawings of the various fanciful figures on the lid, front, back, and two ends of this box are here given. The box is in the possession of Lord Kingsborough.

The FIFTH Volume contains the Dedication to Lord Kingsborough; an extract from Humboldt's "Monumens de l'Amerique;" the Spanish Interpretations to the Codices of "Mendoza" and the "Telleriano-Remensis," and the Italian to the Vatican MS. No. 3738, as far as the 92d plate, up to the time of the Conquest. Then we have the Commentary of Dupaix, in the original Spanish, on the Monuments of New Spain, engraved in the fourth volume. And, lastly, in Spanish also, the sixth book of the inedited MS. of Sahagun's History of New Spain; treating of the rhetoric, philosophy, morals, and religion of the Mexicans.

The Sixth Volume, as an Appendix, consists of an English version of the Interpretations accompanying the three Hieroglyphical Paintings already specified, with copious Annotations by Lord Kingsborough. Arguments to show that the Jews in early ages colonized America, extending in the form of notes through 188 pages. Translation of Dupaix's Commentary on the Monuments, contained in the fifth volume. A further body of notes concludes this volume.

Volume the Seventh contains the whole of the MSS. of the "History of New Spain" by Sahagun, in the original Spanish, except the sixth book, printed in the fifth volume.

Bernardino de Sahagun, a Franciscan monk, being employed during the sixteenth century in instructing the Mexicans, made great proficiency in their language and history. He composed several works in Mexican and Spanish; and among them may be particularly mentioned, a "Universal Dictionary of the Mexican Language," in twelve volumes, folio, containing all that belonged to the geography, the religion, and the political and natural history of the Mexicans. This work of great erudition and labour was sent to Madrid, and is probably still preserved in some library of Spain. He is the author also of the "General History of New Spain;" in writing which, he says, that he assembled the Indians of Tezcuco and Mexico, most conversant with the antiquities of their country, in order that they might explain to him the signification of their ancient paintings, as the best authority he could follow in composing his history. It has been hitherto preserved in manuscript, in the library of some Spanish convent, until it came into the possession of Lord Kingsborough, though, we believe, owing to religious bigotry, it has not escaped some mutilations.

We have now gone over the contents of this great work. Besides presenting us with more accurate copies of the MSS. and paintings which had previously appeared, we have now the whole of the collections of which Humboldt and others had only given us fragments. The portions of the work which are entirely new are Nos. (as we have noted them) 3, 4, 5, and 6, in the first volume; Nos. 2 and 3 in the second; No. 3 in the third; Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5 in the fourth; the commentaries of Dupaix, and the *sixth* book of Sahagun in the *fifth*; part of volume *sixth*, and the whole of the *seventh*. The whole of the manuscripts and paintings, as well as the highly finished lithographic drawings of the fourth volume, have been copied and completed by Mr. Aglio's own hand; and the coloured impressions, which have also been executed under his immediate inspection, present perfect and exact fac-similes of the superb originals. From the method adopted in every instance in copying the Mexican paintings contained in the work by means of transparent paper, the greatest

correctness has been obtained; the minute hieroglyphics of the Dresden MS. have been no less faithfully imitated in this manner than the larger figures of the paintings of Veletri, &c. Thus the merit of indefatigable perseverance, and of admirable skill in the workmanship is conspicuously due to Mr. Aglio; a bolder and yet at the same time a more graceful pencil than his does not exist. But beyond this, we are free to confess, looking at the *graphic* portion of the work as it now stands, we cannot see the validity of its claims to be considered as augmenting the stores of Mexican history. This cannot be said, however, of those portions of the work, which comprise the *literary* labours of Dupaix and Sahagun, which are really valuable and instructive.

We had intended making some extracts from the *descriptive* portions of the work, but beside the disadvantage of exhibiting them without the *graphic* documents which they illustrate, our limits warn us to desist.

Before we conclude, however, we must say a few words on the various learned lucubrations of the noble annotator. His notes display a thorough acquaintance with the multifarious sources of sacred and profane history in support of his favourite hypothesis, that the Jews were the early colonists of America. The multitudinous arguments employed may be plausible enough, but we cannot help mistrusting their cogency. His Lordship certainly manifests no less anxiety than research in his attempt to prove the soundness of his positions, more particularly, as in the third part of the Mendoza Codex, where striking resemblances present themselves betwixt the manners and customs of the ancient Mexicans and of the Israelites. In fact, the whole and only end and aim of the Noble Lord's labours, open the volumes wherever we may, tend more or less to this point: "Eò excubuerunt potissimumque referuntur omnes ejus cogitationes, omnes curæ, omne studium." We beg leave to observe, however, (what many great writers have remarked, and which a citation from M. Visconti in this article corroborates,) that very close analogies between the institutions and habits of remote nations are not of themselves a proof of their identity of origin. But, it may be answered, they are not the only evidence here depended upon; even granting this, we think we could show, did not the limits of this article forbid our entering on the wide field of controversy, that some of the noble writer's arguments, founded in several instances on too credulous a reliance upon the assertions and absurd conjectures of the early missionaries, might be successfully impugned. M. de Humboldt, speaking of some learned men, who, allured by splendid hypotheses built on very unstable foundations, have drawn general consequences from a small number of solitary

facts, says: "they have discovered Chinese and Egyptian colonies in America; recognised Celtic dialects and the Phœnician alphabet; and, while we are ignorant whether the Osci, the Goths, or the Celts, are nations emigrated from Asia, have given a decided opinion on the origin of all the hordes of the New Continent." We have neither space nor inclination to ascertain whether this description be really applicable to the Noble Lord, but we apprehend it is not far from the mark.

The following extract will probably give our readers a sufficient idea of the style and depth of reasoning of the noble expositor of the "Antiquities of Mexico."

"The belief which the Mexicans and Peruvians entertained of their origin, is likewise an argument in favour of their common descent. The former of these nations pretended that their ancestors had proceeded from seven caves; and the latter, that they were descended from seven heroes, who came out of the same cave. M. de Humboldt has observed that if we knew exactly in what part of the globe the ancient kingdoms of *Tulan*, *Tlapallan*, *Huetlapallan*, *Amaquemacam*, *Aztlan*, and *Chicomoztoc*, were situated, we might be able to form an opinion of who the ancestors of the Mexicans were, and from what country they passed over to America. An attentive examination of the meaning of these proper names, and the mutual comparison of one with another, may at least assist us in forming some conjecture. But it must first be observed, that the opinion of Herrera, (who is the authority to which a kind of general submission is yielded on all questions relating to America,) viz. that that continent was only colonized from its western side,—is improbable in the extreme; for, omitting physical reasons and other causes for supposing that the contrary would rather have been the case; such as the great current of the sea, which runs from the African towards the American shores; the relative magnitude of the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans; and the consequent nearer proximity of America to Europe; and the much greater naval enterprise which has in all ages distinguished Europeans, and the Asiatics bordering on the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, from other Asiatics, and likewise the curious facts mentioned by Sahagun, that the Mexicans recorded in numerous historical paintings an early colonization of America from the East, as also that Torquemada says that when Quecalcoatle set out on his return to his former kingdom of Tlapallan he proceeded to the province of Coaçacoalco, (which was situated on the Gulf of Mexico,) and there embarked in a boat or raft formed out of serpents' skins (and such a boat seems to be represented in the forty-third page of the painting preserved in the Royal Library of Dresden)—Herrera cannot be considered a candid author, or one who declared all that he knew or believed respecting the ancient colonization of America; nor can it be expected that much weight should be attached to his theory—that America was peopled from Asia by colonists pasing over the Isthmus of California, and that the Mexicans came from thence; since modern geographical science contradicts the supposed facilities of such a passage. We shall, therefore, (divesting ourselves of

all ancient prejudices, which Lord Bacon rightly considers the idols to which human reason readily bows, and to be most detrimental to the advance of knowledge,) proceed to the consideration of the meaning of the above mentioned proper names, and, comparing them with each other, endeavour to discover whether they may not all have a common reference and lead us to that portion of the Old Continent to which ancient traditions and the mythological recollections of Peru and Mexico equally point. Tulan signifies *the country of reeds*, Tlapallan, *the red sea*, Huetlapallan, *the old red sea*, Amaquemacam, *the country of the veil of paper*, Aztlan *the country of the flamingo*, and Chicomoztoc *the seven caves*. In the absence of all positive knowledge of facts, to employ conjecture is not only admissible, but becomes absolutely necessary, if research after truth is not altogether to be abandoned. We may therefore be permitted to express an opinion, for reasons which shall be alleged, that Egypt is the country to which all these proper names refer; and that the colony which arrived in early ages in America from the East, were Jews from Alexandria, in which emporium of the commerce of the world they had been established from the period of its foundation by Alexander the Great, and enjoyed equal rites of citizenship with the other citizens, possessed a contentious synagogue, and, probably as a means of increasing their wealth, addicted themselves to those mercantile pursuits which caused its haven to be crowded with the ships of every country."

After an attempt to show that the Jews of old were good navigators, because John of Portugal referred the plan of Columbus for the discovery of the New World to a bishop and two Jews, eminent cosmographers, for their judgment upon it, and that they (the Jews) might have introduced the use of the mariners' compass to Europeans, deriving it from the east, his lordship thus proceeds :—

" The reasons for supposing that the proper names of places above mentioned all refer to Egypt, are the following, which are chiefly derived from the local qualities of its soil,—Tulan, (the country of rushes,) is a name which would well suit a country extending along the banks of a great river covered with flags; Tlapallan and Huetlapallan, (the country of the red sea, or of the old red sea,) would be an appellation equally applicable to Egypt; Amaquemacam, (the kingdom of the veil of paper,) might refer to the reeds producing the papyrus, since the land of Egypt is said in scripture to be hidden in her reeds, on account of their great abundance, and the lowness of the soil. Aztlan, (the country of the flamingo,) is a name which recalls to our recollection the Ibis, a bird of the flamingo species, which was very common in Egypt, and greatly revered by the Egyptians; Aztlan, likewise, is said to have been an island, and that part of Lower Egypt, named the Delta, in which Alexandria is situated, is in fact an island formed by the arms of the Nile; and the pyramid, the memory of which the Mexicans preserved as existing in Aztlan, might have been nothing more than a tradition of the Egyptian pyramids. Chicomoztoc, (the country of the seven

caves, or of the seven dragons' mouths, or of the seven gulfs,)—for *oztoc* may be interpreted *a cave, a dragons' mouth*, and *a gulf*,—might also have signified Lower Egypt, and the seven branches of the Nile, from which colonies, either at the same or different times embarking, might have proceeded to America."

ART. V.—*Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, von Jacob Grimm. (Teutonic Legal Antiquities, by Jacob Grimm.) 8vo. Göttingen. 1828.

GERMAN antiquaries, whether poetical, philological, historical, or legal, have long been renowned not only for their indefatigable industry and research, but likewise for the ratiocinative—if we must not say philosophical—spirit, governing both their investigations, and their use of the fruits of those investigations. But these profound and theoretical explorers of the past are characterized by yet other qualities not so generally known. After all that has of late years been learned, and all that has further been presumed concerning our continental kinsmen, it has never, we apprehend, entered an English imagination, that any living thing, even a German philosopher, could take to legal antiquities as a relaxation from severer studies. This has, however, Dr. Jacob Grimm informs us, been the case in the present instance; and what our readers may think still more wonderful, we ourselves have found the result of the indefatigable Doctor's labours nearly as recreative as he, we hope, did the labours. Assuredly it was not with any view to recreation that we opened his bulky volume, but in search of historical information concerning the early Germans, when, most unexpectedly, the book proved, in some parts at least, so entertaining, that we continued its perusal for our pleasure, and immediately resolved to communicate some portion of the amusement it had afforded us, not to those persons to whom it might be deemed most appropriate, the members of the legal profession, but to our readers in general. Ere we speak of the *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*, however, we must premise a word or two concerning the author.

Dr. Jacob Grimm is one of the most distinguished philosophical and speculative German archæologists in this archæological age. He has, in conjunction with his brothers, and in common with F. H. von der Hagen, and others of less note, collected and published abundance of old national legends, of popular traditions, of nursery tales, of old German poetry, and historical and critical information respecting that poetry, of which more upon some future occasion. He has concocted a Grammar of the same comprehensive character as the Legal Antiquities, including under

the appellation *Deutsche*, (which for this purpose we translate Teutonic,) all nations of German or Teutonic race. This Grammar is singularly philosophical, and indeed in every respect so extraordinary, that, unpromising as a Grammar seems for reviewing, we have long been desirous of placing some account of it before our readers, and trust that our desire may shortly be gratified. Our worthy Doctor, thus various, but ever archæological and national in his pursuits, has now, partly as we have said to recreate himself after his Grammatical toils, and partly to exhibit a new mode of treating Legal Antiquities, produced the work before us; a work, which, he says, would have been more easily and fully accomplished some hundreds of years ago, the unpicturesque and unpoetical seventeenth and eighteenth centuries having done their best to get rid of what the supercilious wisdom of those ages deemed the silliness of rude times. But as German views are always characteristic, we must give Grimm's in his own words.

"The historical Jurist explains the new by the history of the old; the Antiquary the old by the old, and only collaterally by the new. The former neglects what is quite antiquated, the latter what is quite new. The former is obliged to adapt the old to the system of modern legislation; the latter is disposed to let the multiform appearances of the old rest upon their broader and freer basis. Of yore all was more sensibly unfolded; of late all is more intellectually condensed. Here, it is essential to weigh, to ground, and to develope; there, merely to collect and to detail. Under such circumstances it appeared to me rather a hazardous than an unprofitable task for one not of the legal profession to undertake, without any reference to practice and the system of the day, a faithful and complete collection of all accessible materials for an *elementary History of German Law.* The advantage would be infinitely greater could I attract the attention, not of jurists only, but of those explorers of antiquity who have devoted their labours to the language, poetry, and history of our forefathers. I herewith deliver a first attempt at a work of this description, which may well be said to contain more oil than salt.

* * * * *

"Let us dive into the deeper antiquities of German law. * * They are more peculiarly German than anything else, though I shall point out scattered traces of them amongst some ancient and some modern nations. Their fundamental character is *the establishment of the legal by the sensible; the consecration of what is to be permanent by something unsettled,* something that cannot be wholly withdrawn from the dominion of chance."

Having thus allowed Grimm to explain his views, in terms that will, perhaps, be better understood by and bye, we may add our own statement, that in collecting these voluminous relics of Teutonic Antiquity, he is actuated by an intensely patriotic desire; first, to display the poetical and picturesque cha-

racter of his German forefathers; secondly, to clear them from the imputation of barbarism, by showing them to have been not a whit more barbarous than the Greeks and Romans; and lastly, to soften the existing antipathy to feudalism.

The first, and to us the most interesting of these objects, appears even in his introduction, wherein he identifies legal tautology with that proper to the epic poetry of early times, which employed repetition as indispensable to energy of language. Grimm gives many, and often identical, examples from old laws and old poems; adding some few from Homer. Teutonic tautology, both legal and poetic, was usually enhanced either by rhyme or by alliteration, a favourite ornament of Teutonic poetry, and in Scandinavian the common substitute for rhyme. The same character of early epic, i. e. the giving force in simple ways, is marked in the ever-recurring legal formulæ, and in such constantly attached epithets as " bright day," " dark night," " salt or wild sea," " shining gold," " white silver," " green grass," &c.

The poetical mode of establishing legal distinctions by what is palpable to the senses, appears more manifestly in the marking of times and seasons by the going out of the cows to pasture, or their coming home to be milked, by the crowing of the cock, the sinking of the sun in gold, &c. &c. in the taking of all measures from the human person, even the size of a cauldron, which is ascertained by the age of the child that could be bathed in it. But the use of the human form as a standard was not peculiar to the old Germans, though in various ways they carried it further than any other people with whom we are acquainted. For instance, relationship was measured or described by the limbs or parts of the human body, nearest to, or farthest from, the head; the most distant cousins acknowledged as such being called nail-kinsmen. Some of the analogous modes of assessing damages are however quite their own. For instance, he who killed another man's dog, was to hang the slain animal up by the tail, with the nose just touching the ground, and then to cover him with wheat, so that not a hair could be seen; and this heap of wheat was the compensation due to the owner.*

We find the same character in the ascertainment of property and privilege, by some act of the claimant, performed with some implement or symbol of his profession. For this purpose knights and nobles hurled the spear, or some other weapon, and if the Archbishop of Mentz, or the Count of Nassau, riding in com-

* The *Asa* gods themselves are represented as amenable to this law. Having killed a sort of man-otter, they were required by the human father of the slain to cover the dead body with gold; and a long series of calamities originated in the difficulty of procuring the necessary quantity of that metal for covering it to the last hair.

plete armour into the Rhine as far as they could find footing for their equally armed steeds, marked the extent of their dominion over the river by flinging a sledge hammer, such hammer was not so anomalous as at first sight it appears to their rank, or even to the ecclesiastical profession. Grimm considers this use of the hammer as a proof that the custom prevailed prior to the existence of written law amongst the northern nations, and to their conversion to Christianity. A hammer, somewhat resembling, perhaps, what was afterwards termed a mace, was in those early days a martial weapon. It was especially that of the God Thor, and was esteemed so peculiarly holy as to be the regular sign of consecration. Thus in the hands of the Count of Nassau it was an instrument of war; in those of the archbishop, traditionally perhaps, one of religion, though the circumstance of his being clad in armour might seem to imply its being at most a holy weapon. The reader will remember that during the dark and middle ages, man did not forfeit the pleasures of fighting by becoming the minister of a God of Peace and Mercy. A shepherd might drive his flock so far into a forest, (the property of the hamlet? or of the lord?) as that standing beyond the head of the foremost sheep he could fling his crook out of the wood; and the woodman might cut wood as far as he could fling his axe. Grimm observes that this mode of admeasurement by throwing a spear or a stone is found in Homer, but that there are no traces of any thing of the kind in the laws of the Greeks or the Romans, and he quotes Persian and Hindoo tales of land thus acquired; they belong, however, to poetry. In the Welsh law he discovers a similar spirit; and indeed we suspect that a considerable degree of resemblance in many respects existed between the Germans and their Celtic neighbours in Southern Germany, Gaul, and in Britain. Before leaving this subject of admeasurement, we should state that the smallest possible extent of mother earth's surface, the possession of which constituted a landed proprietor, was ascertained by a custom, not proper to any trade or profession, but to human nature. "The space must be so large that the owner may thereupon set a cradle containing an infant, and a stool for a maid to rock it." From descriptions in other places and upon other occasions, we suspect that this stool had only three legs.

Some doubt may arise in the breast of a sceptical reader, whether this determining of the certain by the uncertain, fancifully poetical as it appears to us, might not, when devised, be a very straightforward proceeding—the best substitute for maps, plans and written deeds. Indisputably it sprang from the want of such documents; but the arbitrary selection, in the last mentioned in-

stance, of one of the tenderest offices of humanity—the care of babyhood—satisfies us that the old Germans were as conscious as ourselves of the play of feeling and imagination marking their laws and customs.

We now turn to another point of this poetical legislation, namely, the embodying legal abstractions, or subjecting them to the evidence of the senses. We approach it with some hesitation, because the distinction between the endeavour to render sensible, and the use of symbols, seems to require a longer disquisition than we have room for, were it suited to our present purpose. It may, however, suffice to say, that we conceive the first—the rendering sensible—to belong to the earliest state of society, and gradually to assume the symbolical character as a nation advances in civilization. At all events this appears to have been the course of things in Germany. When possession of land was given by a clod of earth from the ploughed field, a turf from the meadow, a branch of a forest tree from the wood, and of a fruit tree or vine from the orchard or vineyard to be delivered, these acts, although considered as partly symbolical even by Grimm, appear to us, at least in the earlier times, simply modes of rendering the delivery evident and sensible, without troubling the court of justice, consisting of, or attended by, half the population of the district, to perambulate the domain about to be transferred; and in those days almost every transaction, certainly every transfer of property, required the sanction of a court of justice, or at the least, of numerous witnesses. The similar use made by the Romans of turf, &c. we apprehend to have been purely symbolical, inasmuch as a turf cut from the nearest grass plot, we believe, delivered an estate in Asia. So was amongst the Germans the straw, when a straw picked up in the road supplied the place of the turf, &c. It was manifestly a more abstract idea, not being like the other things necessarily a part of the property delivered, but gathered anywhere. Moreover the very word *stipulatio* seems to indicate its Latin origin; and as its instrumentality in delivering possession is found only amongst the Franks, or the countries that once owned their authority, it is not unlikely that they might adopt it from their Roman subjects. But the mode of employing it became more picturesque under the influence of German imagination. A man who wished to transfer or bequeath an estate to a person not of his blood, flung a straw into the bosom of him to be endowed, or into that of the lord who gave it over to him; the straw was thenceforward carefully preserved as a voucher for the transaction. A straw was otherwise often symbolically used. Breaking a straw was a form of engagement as solemn and irrevocable, we believe, as the striking hands, which

bears a peculiar name in almost every Teutonic language, and is still practised among the lower orders in Germany as it is in England.* Equally symbolical was the use of straw, when a man living alone, if attacked by night, took three straws from his roof, in addition to his cat and dog, to attest the outrage. Taking possession of a house by opening and shutting the door, was surely the mere exercise of an act of possession before witnesses, although the door posts certainly did possess a peculiar sanctity.

Amongst various fanciful forms of transacting business which appear to blend the two characters, some few are worth mentioning. The adoption of a son was effected in Lombardy by the adopter's trimming, for the first time, the beard of the adopted; in Scandinavia, by his giving him his shoe to put on.† This form seems to have implied a recognition of the shoe-proprietor's authority; and, as such, was required from a bride, who completed the marriage ceremony by putting on the bridegroom's shoe. Natural children, to be legitimated by the subsequent wedlock of their parents, were placed under the mother's mantle during the marriage ceremony. Taking the keys from a wife was equivalent to a divorce; and a widow freed herself from her deceased husband's debts by throwing her keys into his grave, which was a virtual abandonment of her claims upon his property. A silken thread formed an inviolable inclosure. Knights enforced an oath by striking their swords into the earth. When two Scandinavians wished to swear brotherhood, a long strip of turf was raised, supported by a spear in the middle, and resting upon the ground at both ends: under this turf the intended brothers suffered their blood, drawn from wounds in the palm of the hand or the sole of the foot, to mingle; and they further mixed the blended stream with earth. They then knelt down beside or under the turf, and invoked the gods to attest their oath to avenge each other's death like brothers. Accused persons occasionally swore to their innocence with a similar form; it was called going under the earth, and esteemed peculiarly solemn.

This mixing of blood is one of the points upon which our learned and patriotic antiquary is most earnest to clear the old Germans of any extraordinary barbarity; for which purpose he quotes Greek and Latin authors to show that similar, and yet more savage practices, such as drinking each other's blood, were common amongst other nations. But as most of his extracts, those especially from Herodotus and Lucian, refer to the Scythians,

* Schiller, in his Wilhelm Tell, says "Des Bauern *Handschlag* ist ein Manneswort," which may be Englished, "The peasant's hand-strike pledges a man's word."

† Is this the origin of the phrase "standing in his shoes?"

we doubt the *Classicistes* being much moved thereby in favour of the old Germans. In fact a very peculiar combination of seemingly incongruous inhumanity and tenderness marked, as we shall have occasion to show in the course of this article, the character of the early Germans or Teutones; and we incline to think that the incongruity will vanish if we duly consider the deeply imaginative tone of their minds, the real tenderness of their hearts, their actually extravagant valor, enhanced by their religious creed, and the utter worthlessness of life in their eyes, save as it might be employed in acquiring glory.

We entirely lose sight of symbols, and return to the senses, and the act of the party most concerned, in the custom of giving land in quantities measured by the receiver's riding, driving, or crawling, over or round it, during some determinate period of time, as whilst the royal donor bathed, or took his after-dinner nap. This custom was not however peculiar to the Germans. We find grants almost literally similar in Herodotus, in Livy, and in oriental history or fable; and, in spirit, they resemble Dido's purchase of the land a bull's hide would cover, which indeed was often literally copied by German candidates for real property. But if not Teutonic in its origin, the practice became so by the more vivid and picturesque form which, like all proceedings borrowed from the south, it assumed amidst the imaginative Northmen and Germans. It went out of fashion, we presume, from the constant cheating to which it seems to have given birth. Even saints appear to have found the temptation irresistible, and consequently endowed jackasses upon such occasions with a fleetness surpassing the best-bred racers. If saints proved thus trickish, shall we wonder at the frailty of a hero's virtue? A prince of one of the most heroic families in Germany, the Guelphs, and consequently an ancestor of the sovereign of the British isles, having obtained from the emperor Lewis the grant of as much land as he could either plough with a golden plough, or drive a golden waggon round, it is not clear which, during his imperial majesty's noontide slumber, fairly, or rather unfairly, put a golden toy-waggon or plough into his pocket, and rode full gallop, with, if we recollect rightly, relays of horses.

This mode of granting land originated, we conceive, in the ordinary form of taking possession of domains, whether inherited or otherwise acquired, by riding over them. Even kings were frequently bound thus to ride round or over their kingdoms,* after having, upon their succession or election, (they commonly united

* In old Swedish law this was called riding *eriksgata*; *gata* meaning road or street.

both rights,) been lifted on high upon a shield, and thus exhibited to their people for their approbation or homage—a practice, by the way, borrowed from the Germans by the Romans, when their armies came to consist principally of Germans. We first read of it upon Julian's proclamation as emperor at Paris, A. D. 360, when Ammianus Marcellinus says, "Julian was placed upon a foot soldier's shield, raised on high, and unanimously proclaimed Augustus." Is the chairing of members of parliament upon their election a relic of this ancient usage?

But we must return to German forms of taking possession, some of which are curious. The number of persons and animals to be employed in the ride was specified. The lord was to ride, sometimes himself seventh, with six horses and a half—the half being a mule; sometimes with six mouths and a half, when the party consisted of himself, two attendants, three horses, and a dog; and the quantity and quality of entertainment he was entitled to claim from his vassals upon these occasions was appointed with equal care, and was occasionally confined to bread, cheese, and wine, upon a clean table cloth. If he required more, he had to pay for it. The horses, however, were always amply provided for, being ordered to be placed up to the belly in oats. Sometimes horses and dogs were to be one-eyed, or even a one-eyed deputy was to be substituted for the lord. In other places animals and men's clothes were to be white; a more intelligible regulation, inasmuch as white was a holy colour amongst the Teutonic Heathens; and we observe that it did not quite forfeit its sanctity upon the introduction of Christianity, from the marvellous favour shown to a white sow, who, if lucky enough to produce a whole litter spotlessly white as herself, was permitted, it should seem, to ravage the corn fields within her reach at her own discretion. But the most singular and solemn form of entering into possession and receiving homage recorded, is that enjoined to the dukes of Carinthia. We translate, with a little compression, Grimm's account of it.

"The principle upon which this form proceeded was, that every new duke must take his lands and privileges as by purchase from the people, and their representative—a free peasant. Whenever, therefore, a new duke is to receive the homage hereditarily due to him, a peasant of the race of the Edlinger places himself upon the marble ducal seat at Zollfeld. Round about this seat, but without the barriers, as far as eye can reach, throng the country people, awaiting the new duke. This latter personage, in the rude garb of a Sclavonian peasant, with a hunter's wallet containing bread, cheese, and agricultural implements, (small ones, we hope,) carrying a crook in his hand, and having a black steer and a lean cart-horse on either side, approaches the marble seat, led by

two noblemen of the province, and followed by all the rest of the nobility and chivalry in the most splendid festal array, with the flags and banners of the duchy. As soon as the procession comes near enough for the peasant to discover the prince, he asks in the Sclavonian dialect spoken in Carinthia, 'Who comes hither in such state?' The crowd answer, 'The prince of the country.' The peasant resumes, 'Is he a just judge? Does the good of the country touch his heart? Is he of free and Christian birth?' An unanimous shout of 'He is! he will be!' resounds from the assembled multitude. 'Then, I ask, by what right he will remove me from this seat?' again questions the peasant, and the Count of Görz replies, 'He will buy it of thee for sixty pence. These draught cattle shall be thine, as well as the prince's clothes; thy house shall be free, and thou shalt pay neither tithe nor rent.' The peasant now gives the prince a slight box on the ear, admonishes him to be just, and, descending from the marble seat, takes possession of the horse and steer. The new duke ascends the vacated throne, and swinging his drawn sword in every direction, promises right and justice to the people; after which, in proof of his moderation, he takes a draught of water out of his hat. The procession then goes to St. Peter's Church to hear mass. The duke exchanges his rustic dress for princely attire, and holds a magnificent banquet with his knights and nobles. After dinner the company repair to the side of a hill, where stands a seat divided into two by a partition wall. The duke sits on the side fronting the east, and swears, bare-headed and with uplifted fingers, to maintain the laws and rights of the duchy. Thereupon he receives the homage, the oaths of allegiance of his vassals, and grants the investiture of fiefs. On the opposite side sits the Count of Görz, and grants the fiefs depending mediately upon him, as hereditary count-palatine of Carinthia. So long as the duke sits upon this seat granting fiefs, it is the prescriptive privilege of the race of Gradneckers to appropriate to themselves as much grass as they can mow, unless it be ransomed by the owners; whilst robbers enjoy the yet more marvellous right of robbing, and the Portendörfers, and after their extinction the Mordaxters, that of burning the property of whosoever will not compound with them; (by the payment of black-mail.) These extraordinary ceremonies were observed at every accession of a Duke of Carinthia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: in the fifteenth they disappear."

Of course we do not propose here to enter into an investigation of the whole character and nature of the feudal system—to do so would require volumes—but we have said that Grimm regards it with an eye of favour; and as he differs in this from almost, if not quite, all his philosophic contemporaries of the Continent, and far exceeds even our own candid and truly philosophic countryman, the historian of the Middle Ages, we deem it incumbent upon us to select some statements illustrative of his views respecting that curiously interwoven chain of interminable dependence and superiority in vassalage, which, however revolting to the enlightened love of liberty of the nineteenth century, had in

it something venerably patriarchal, equally touching to the affections and the imagination of a more poetical, if less logical and less sentimental age, and still fascinating to all lovers of romance. The degradation of villenage is the dark side of feudalism: it is essential, therefore, to the justification of our respected doctor's feudal prepossessions to show that, in his opinion, even this was softened by the patriarchal spirit of the system, at least in early times, the laws being calculated, as well as the rude simplicity of their framers allowed, to protect the inferior against oppression by any arbitrary extension of authority, and to afford him every fair and reasonable indulgence.

That the *unfree*, as Dr. Grimm tenderly terms the whole of the inferior classes collectively, were cruelly and unreasonably degraded, is undeniable. The very appellation of the better class of villeins, *litus*, Grimm believes to have been vituperative, as derived from the adjective "lazy," which is *lats* in Gothic, *laet* in Anglo Saxon, and *latr* in old Norse. He nevertheless gives, as the synonyme of *litus*, the Lombard word *aldius*, which is evidently the same with the Spanish *aldeano*, villager, from *aldea*, village, and all assuredly of Gothic origin, though the very scanty specimens we possess of the Gothic language may not enable us to point out the parent word. Other denominations of the unfree imply obedience and subjection—but one—*mündling*—is just what it should be, really meaning *protegé*. The unfree (lazy knaves and *protegés* alike) were distinguished from the free by their names, or rather their want of family names, by the colour and shape of their clothes, and by the cutting of their hair. The long hair, which was the distinctive characteristic of the Merovingian kings, seems at one time or other to have been common to all nobles, if not to all freemen, as there are laws of several old nations extant against cropping long-haired children without their parents' consent, and against letting the hair of the unfree of either sex grow. In fact the long hair of the higher ranks seems to have been held in almost equal honour with the beard: a woman swore, if not by her tresses, yet holding them in her left hand, whilst her right was laid upon her bosom; and some of the old Scandinavian legends record the anxiety of heroes at the block to preserve their hair from being soiled with blood by their decapitation. Further, the unfree had no *wergelt*, or fixed damages for their murder;* but their lives were not therefore unprotected, except against their master. He, their master, claimed their value from a murderer as he would that of a horse. In like manner he paid all

* Grimm considers *wergeld* as literally the price of, or satisfaction for, a man, from the old Norse *gialda*, to pay or compensate, and *wer* or *verr*, one of the many old words for man. Whence this curious coincidence with the Latin *vir*?

fines they incurred, just as he paid for any mischief done by his cattle. The unfree were forbidden to carry arms; yet in some laws a military litus is spoken of, and we learn from Mannert that some portion of the unfree household of noblemen, termed *pueri*, carried arms while escorting their lords upon journeys.* It is not improbable that the strictness of the prohibition was gradually relaxed when the free began to regard military service as burdensome, and that when the nobles aimed at nearly independent power, they sought to increase the force upon which they relied by unlawfully arming their thralls.

This promotion of the unfree was the easier, inasmuch as European villenage was wholly exempt from the loathsome baseness of oriental slavery, the servile duties required by indolence, luxury, or wantonness, being altogether repugnant to the character and habits of Teutonic lords. The services usually required of the unfree were menial attendance, (which could hardly be esteemed dishonourable whilst its higher offices were discharged by young ladies and gentlemen,) assistance in the sports of the field, and the cultivation of the land. These were rewarded with food, drink, sometimes with various small privileges, and were occasionally cheered with music. The natural result of this intercourse of protection and dependence, was to generate a peculiar intimacy and affection between the proud noble and his thralls. Some of the services by which the unfree cultivators held their land seem to have been instituted either for this express purpose or in joke. In some parts of Germany and northern France, the peasantry were assembled upon certain occasions, as the lying-in of their lady, to beat the water in the ponds and ditches, in order to silence the frogs. The peasants upon the lands of one monastery were bound to carry a boiled capon into the refectory at meal time, and uncover it, so that all the monks might enjoy a share of the steam and fragrance; they might then take it away to dispose of it at their own pleasure. The steward of one lordship, when he received the rent or tribute due, was bound to give the bringers a sum of money to drink, upon condition that they returned home by an appointed hour, and he himself was fined a ton of fresh herrings for every penny which he did not forward to his lord by an equally appointed hour. But the most amusing payment of rent we have met with we give in Grimm's own words.

"The village of Salzdorf, in the territories of Hesse, was bound to pay the sum of ninepence to the Baron of Buchenau on St. Walburg's day (May-day.) The bearer, who was called the Walpertsmannikin, was bound to be seated upon a specified stone of the bridge before Buchenau Castle at six o'clock in the morning of May-day. If he was

* See No. XIII. p. 179.

behind his time, the sum to be paid increased progressively, and at so rapid a rate, that by evening the whole community of Salzdorf would have been unable to discharge it. The Walpertsmannikin was therefore always accompanied by two comrades, to guard against accidents. But if the appointed hour found him at his post, he was abundantly feasted by the baron; and if he could keep wide awake through such feasting for three whole days, (including nights we imagine,) he was entitled to his maintenance for life; but if his eyes once closed for a single moment, he was forthwith turned out of the castle."

The patriarchal indulgence, modifying the harshness of the feudal system, is pleasingly displayed in the partial relaxation of one of its generally harshest features—the game laws. The following are extracts from various old laws, strongly asserting the rights of noble sportsmen.

"But if a good fellow of the county should go into the water with his hose and shoes on, and should catch hold of a fish, and eat it with good friends, he shall have done no wrong; but he shall not catch fish with nets, or carry them to market. Also if a shepherd, going with his dog to his sheep, should by chance catch a hare, and shall carry it openly upon his neck, and not cook it with kale or cabbage, but shall lawfully roast it, (first doing to it something else which, for want of a Mrs. Glasse of the middle ages, we confess our inability to explain or translate,) and invite the village magistrate, or some of his lord's servants to partake of it, he shall have done no wrong; but he shall not go after it, nor lie in wait for it, nor shoot, nor sell it."

Similar, or even greater privileges were allowed in some small states to a ploughman; nay, even

"A townsman of Eychen, if it be necessary for the support of his own life or of his family, or to do honour to a guest, may take fish in the Rhine." * * * And "A citizen or a citizen's child may catch a hare or a wild boar with his dog, provided he sends the boar's head to my gracious lord of Ziegenhain at Ziegenhain."

Still greater indulgence was extended to pregnant women, who were allowed to take, or to employ others to take for them, fruit, fish, and game, *ad libitum*, for their own consumption. The comforts and necessities of women in child-bed were provided for with a tenderness equally considerate and arbitrary; and the thrall engaged in his lord's service was authorized to leave his work and go instantly home, upon hearing of his wife's parturient condition, to comfort and take care of the invalid.

Something of the same kind of indulgence was extended towards animals. The general right was, after due notice to the owner, to kill every convicted and *relapsed* trespassing animal; but a trespassing goose was ordered to be hampered, in some way that we do not quite comprehend, with a long unthrashed straw,

and if the said goose could release itself, it was entitled to its life. A hen was allowed to trespass as far upon a neighbour's land as her owner, standing upon two sharp stakes in the hedge, could throw his ploughshare between his legs. How hens were taught to know their precise limits we are not told; but they were clearly expected so to do, for a hen that exceeded her bounds might be killed, provided she was afterwards thrown into her owner's domain with as many herbs as would suffice to cook her for a nobleman's table. Further—" A miller shall not dam up the water so high but that a bee may sit upon the head of the nail in the middle of the stake, and drink and enjoy the water without wetting its feet or wings."

In the laws respecting the treatment of strangers the admixture of the kindly and severe spirit appears. Travellers were not only entitled to hospitality, but whilst journeying were permitted to cut wood for the repair of their conveyance, whatever that might be; to feed their tired horses with grain, corn, and grass, or hay from a stack, all to an extent limited by some specific position of horse or man; to gather fruit for themselves, and even to catch fish, provided they lighted a fire, and dressed and ate it upon the spot. But if they remained a year and a day in one place, they forfeited the rights of freemen, becoming the property of the lord of the soil. In many states they had no *wergelt;* and according to the Anglo-Saxon laws of Ina, they were convicted as thieves by the mere fact of deviating from the main road without blowing a horn.

But no where does this mixed character appear more strongly than with regard to criminals. Whilst the punishments awarded to guilt are fearfully sanguinary, and sometimes so disgustingly atrocious that we scarcely know how to describe them, we for ever discover an evident disposition to enable the culprit to escape. Hanging between wolves and dogs upon a leafless tree, (out of respect for the foliage of a thriving tree we presume,) burning, boiling, flaying, impaling, every kind of mutilation, tarring and feathering, casting to wild beasts, were the ordinary doom, when offences were not compounded for by a sum of money. Cowards were drowned, or rather smothered, in mud. Removers of boundary stones were buried up to the neck in the earth, and ploughed to death with a new plough, four unbroken horses, and a ploughman who had never before turned a furrow. Forest burners were seated at a certain distance from a fire of a certain magnitude, to which their bare feet were turned till the soles dropped off. But the most horrible of punishments awaited him who was detected in barking trees. His navel was dug out, and nailed to the injured tree, round which he was driven, dragging

out his own bowels, and winding them upon it in lieu of the despoiled bark. And this whilst every injury to a fellow-creature, even murder, might be expiated with a sum of money!

With these atrocious punishments were mingled, as is well known, pecuniary mulcts, seemingly so insufficient to restrain the passions of men, and finally, other castigations, which simply dishonoured the sufferer. Amongst these were cutting away the tablecloth from before a knight as he sat at meat; compelling him to carry a dog or a saddle, or to wear garments of some peculiar and unbeseeming form. A man who suffered himself to be beaten by his wife, in some places had his house unroofed,* as a gentle intimation of his unfitness to dwell in the community; in others he was obliged to lead the donkey upon which his virago partner was seated backwards, holding the tail in her hand. One of the dishonouring inflictions that was peculiarly dreaded, was the burying disgracefully; a very important part of which was not to let the infamous corse pass over the threshold. A hole, if practicable, was dug underneath it, if not, broken in the wall, through which the dead criminal, fastened by the foot to a horse, was dragged out to his appointed grave, prepared in a field, or at the crossing of roads. An outlaw was in Norse termed *vargr i veum*, which seems to mean, literally, condemned to the wolves, or perhaps put upon a footing with the wolves. In truth he was rather worse off, for not only might every one kill him, but to feed, harbour, or relieve him, was a heinous crime, even in his wife; and he who aided him by land or water, or who neglected an opportunity of seizing him, besides incurring other punishments, forfeited all right to demand assistance when himself the subject of outrage.

But various resources against this inhuman code were provided, not the least important being numerous inviolable asylums. At one of these, Mattheishof, the law says that

"A man may be protected six weeks and three days;† and when the six weeks and three days are out, the poor sinner shall fling a stone against and over the gate of the said *hof* (or court); and if he can go three steps beyond the stone and get back again into the *hof*, he shall enjoy such another period of protection; and if the proprietor of the *hof* may or can help him off, by day or night, he shall be authorized so to do for our Lord's sake."

Another resource was the facility afforded to accused persons,

* A common mode of banishing a man was to break down his oven, fill up his well, nail up his door, and dig a deep ditch before it.

† A shorter period is always added to the longer in old Teutonic law, in the spirit of indulgence of which we have spoken, we presume, as a year and a day, fifty years and a day, or sometimes a month, or some arbitrary period of time. A man was not to be accounted an old bachelor till he was fifty years, three months, and three days old.

really guilty, for their defence, undreamed of in modern practice. They were not obliged to produce witnesses who could prove their innocence, but merely persons willing to swear to their own belief in the prisoner's oath that he was innocent. The number of such co-swearers required varied according to the nature of the accusation and the rank of the accused—a thrall requiring nine times as many as his lord; though we confess our doubts whether a nobleman, who was indulged with the privilege of trial by battle, an old heathen institution, ever condescended to adopt any other means of rebutting an accusation or establishing a right, than that which was the business and the pleasure of his life, fighting.

In a similar contradictory spirit the law of debtor and creditor seems to have been compiled. Creditors possessed such rights over their unfortunate debtors, that an old German or Northman, instead of sharing our indignation against Shylock, might probably have considered the defrauded Jew as the proper object of sympathy. By the Norwegian law,

"If a debtor be impertinent to his creditor, or refuse to work for him, the latter may bring him before a court of justice, and invite his friends to pay the debt. If the friends will not free the debtor, the creditor has a right to cut off of him as much as he will, above or below." (It is not explained whether he was to cut flesh only, or might lop off a limb.)

But to counterbalance this efficacious kind of personal security, the debtor seems to have had the power of nearly defeating his creditor's claim by simply turning his back upon him; it being indispensable to *mannire* (ANGLICE *dun*) a man to his face.

The courts of justice in which such singular scenes occurred, and such horrible sentences were pronounced, consisted, our readers are probably aware, of nearly the whole population of the district, presided over by the feudal lord, or by judges appointed by the sovereign with the concurrence of the people, or by lord and judges conjointly. It is less generally known, we conceive, that before the accession of the Carlovingians these courts were held in the open air. In old heathen times they were held in consecrated groves, and in Scandinavia under the shade of the ash, in imitation of the *Asa* gods, who always sat in judgment under the ash Yggdrasill; a very discreetly chosen locality, by the way, since Mimer's fountain of wisdom bubbles up under one of its roots. Christianity desecrated these holy shades in their religious, but did not interfere with their judicial character; and they continued to be the usual seats of tribunals so long, that in Germany going under the oaks or the linden trees, the favourite situation, became a phrase for going to law. Various other places, however, answered the same purpose, as hills, hollows, river sides, bridges, which offered convenient seats and means of inclosure,

and the church door, or the castle or city gate, according to oriental custom.

Wherever the court was held it was so arranged that the presiding judge faced the east. The accuser stood on his right, to the south; and the accused on his left, to the north. But it was the cardinal point, not the judge's right hand, that settled the post of honour; for the Welsh law, (we have spoken of the resemblance existing between Teutonic and Celtic institutions,) which seats the judge facing the west, equally stations the accuser southwards and the accused northwards, though the former thus stood on the judge's left hand. The north, which the Germans still designate as Midnight, was the scene of all guilt and horror to the old Northmen—an opinion naturally resulting from their profound reverence for the sun, which itself arose probably from the high value for his beams, induced by the coldness of the climate. Almost every thing holy seems to have been associated with the sun's rays, especially justice. No judicial proceedings could begin before sun-rise, or continue after sun-set—a rule which must have occasioned some procrastination during winter in the hyperborean provinces of Scandinavia.

The hanging up of a shield was essential to the formation of the court, and an announcement that it was open, as the overturning of the judges' seats proclaimed its close; for the judge must sit, (his rising interrupted all proceedings,) and not only must he sit, but sit in a specific attitude. In one State he was to sit "with one foot upon the opposite knee;" in another "with the right leg thrown over the left, like a grim lion," in which position, we believe, if he could not decide a point at once, he was to meditate upon it 123 times. In this awful position, when he had decided, he pronounced in a loud voice such dooms as the following:—

"For this we judge and doom thee, and take thee out of all rights, and place thee in all wrongs; and we pronounce thy wife a lawful widow, and thy children lawful orphans; and we award thy fiefs to the lord from whom they came, thy patrimony and acquired property to thy children, and thy body and flesh to the beasts of the forest, the birds of the air, the fish in the water. We give thee over to all men upon all ways; and where every man has peace and safe conduct, thou shalt have none; and we turn thee forth upon the four ways of the world, and no man can sin against thee."

We are tempted to add another specimen of these rudely vivid poetical judgments.

"When the heirs of a murdered man, upon receiving compensation, are reconciled to the murderer, they shall share knife and meat and all things together, like friends, not foes. He who breaks this compact

shall be banished, and driven as far as man can be driven. Wherever Christian men go to church and Heathen men sacrifice in their temples —wherever fire burns and earth *greens*, (no circumlocution can render this quaint but picturesquely descriptive verb)—wherever child cries for its mother and mother bears child, ship floats, shield glitters, sun melts snow, fir grows, hawk flies the long spring day, and the wind stands under his wings*—wherever the heavens vault themselves, the earth is cultivated, the wind storms, water runs to the sea, and men sow corn, shall he be refused the church and God's house, and good men shall deny him any home but hell. The reconciliation shall subsist for them and their heirs, born and unborn, begotten and unbegotten, named and unnamed, so long as the earth is and men live; and wherever both parties meet, by land or by water, on ship-board or horseback, on rock or at sea, shall they share with each other oar and water-bucket, land and plank, as need is, and be friendly towards each other upon all occasions, as father to son and son to father."

We cannot quit the subject of courts of justice without a few words concerning that singular judicial institution of the middle ages, which a few years ago excited so much interest in this country under the descriptive but factitious name of the Secret Tribunal, and in Germany under its proper, but not generally understood title of *Das Vehm Gericht*. The diligent study that has since been bestowed upon old German has now explained the difficulty, by showing that *fem*, as the word was written of yore, means condemnation; and the title may be translated, the Condemning or Criminal Tribunal. Grimm conceives this *Vehm Gericht*, with its *Frey Graf* and *Frey Schöffen*—free count, and free judges or assessors—to have been merely a remnant of the numerous free and sovereign tribunals of earlier times, which retained their independence longer in Westphalia than elsewhere, and during the capricious and tyrannic violence and oppression of the worst period of feudalism, gradually assumed the forms of secrecy as a means of prolonging that independence, and as a protection to themselves and others against that violence and oppression. The *Vehm Gericht* thus constituted, for a time, no doubt, worked well, executing justice upon criminals above the reach of ordinary tribunals, but could not fail of falling in the course of time into the hands of wicked, designing and ambitious men, and thus becoming an engine of evil, horrible in proportion to its mysterious potency.

There was another lawful practice of the early Germans and Scandinavians, which, offending the best and strongest feelings of nature, has more than anything else injured them in the estimation of posterity—we mean the frequent exposure of children.

* An idea taken from Scandinavian mythology.

Grimm strives to acquit his ancestors of the charge of especial barbarity upon this score; and although we must confess we dearly love the genuine enthusiasm that prompts a German to stickle for the impeccability of his countrymen, whether now living or dead these 2000 years, it is impossible to repress a smile at the zealous industry with which he labours this point, by showing how long the Greeks and Romans retained the same savage custom or right. It is one which in fact seems to have been common to every nation during its early state, and to have constituted part of the rude idea of paternal authority. In Germany and Scandinavia the right indisputably thus arose from the patriarchal system; and for any palliative explanation of the extent to which it was carried in those countries, we must refer to what we have already said of the peculiarly mixed character of the Teutonic races, and of the little value they set upon life considered as mere life. Sickly or deformed children they probably deemed it a criminal weakness to rear. To the same principles must we refer the extraordinary custom of elderly persons deliberately destroying themselves, in a formal and regular way, after dividing their heritage amongst their children, without any motive except a desire to escape from the annoyance of old age and its infirmities, and to reach Valhalla the sooner.

Another custom yet more revolting, because uncoloured by any kind of even distorted natural right, and violating what we are accustomed to think of more as a duty and less as an indulgence than parental affection, is mentioned by Grimm, but as having prevailed chiefly among the Sclavonian nations, and being rare, if not quite unexampled, among the real Germans—we mean that of sparing old persons the trouble of suicide, by the son's destroying his decrepid parents. But even as guilty of this outrage, Grimm alleges that the Teutonic and Sclavonian races were no worse than the Romans, in proof of which he quotes a passage from Festus showing that sexagenarians might, in times of scarcity, be legally thrown from a bridge into the Tiber; and another from Cicero, (*Cic. pro Sext. Rosc.* cap. 35,) alluding to such a right.

But to return to the exposure of children. This unnatural exercise of the most natural of authorities, the parental, was, as we have intimated, carried to an uncommon extent in Germany and Scandinavia; and its form was, as usual, curious and picturesque. Every new-born infant was laid upon the floor* to await the father's determination whether it should live or die; in their language, be taken up, or carried out. In the first case the

* Was it not rather born upon the floor, and left there untouched? The Scandinavian expression answering to our "lady in the straw," was—the woman on the pavement or floor.

father took it into his own arms, acknowledged and named it. In the other it was carried out and exposed. But to render this determination lawful, it was requisite that the child should not have acquired a right to life, by tasting food or being purified with water; which last appears to have been a northern rite or practice prior to the introduction of Christian baptism. One should have thought this condition might have almost always enabled a bold and fond mother to secure her babe from exposure, but it was rarely thus taken advantage of. Respect for the laws and conjugal submission were more potent, it should seem, than even maternal love! Grimm gives, however, a curious story of its employment, by the mere charity of a stranger, to preserve an infant that, rescued from its untimely doom, lived to become the mother of St. Ludiger.

When this infant, Liafburga, came into the world, she had a heathen grandmother, who, indignant at a number of daughters, and no male heir, having been already born to her son, ordered that the expected child, if it proved a girl, should be drowned ere it could taste food. A girl it was, and the old lady's emissaries accordingly carried off the babe, and proceeded to immerse it in a pail of water. But the predestined mother of a saint was not to be thus robbed of her future honours. The infant extended her little arms, and grasping the sides of the vessel, stoutly defended her life. During this extraordinary struggle a woman chancing to pass by was touched with pity, and snatching the babe from the hands of the legal assassin, fled with it into her own house, where she put honey into its mouth. When the man, who in obedience to his orders had been endeavouring to drown Liafburga, saw her licking the honey from her lips, his conscience would not suffer him to make any further attempt at executing his murderous charge. He durst not, however, impart what had happened to his savage mistress—he assured her that she had been obeyed; and Liafburga was secretly brought up by her preserver until the old grandmother's death allowed of her being restored to her parents.

We must observe upon this story that it is the more extraordinary, inasmuch as the right of a father was only to expose his child where it had a chance of being preserved, not to kill it; and that this right could never, under any circumstances, we believe, be vested in a female. The rights of women were, indeed, generally speaking, rather moral than legal, and mothers by no means shared the authority of fathers. A father under any great pressure of distress might sell his minor sons and unmarried daughters, even as *leibeigene* or thralls, (though not a daughter to prostitution); while no circumstances could authorize a mother to sell her

son. This leads us to say a few words upon the condition of women amongst the old Germans, with which we shall conclude this paper.

Some misconceptions exist upon this subject, chiefly, we apprehend, because the same apparent anomalies are found in the treatment of women, as in every part of the character and conduct of the Teutonic nations, and arising from the same, seldom sufficiently considered, causes to which we have referred the others; that is to say, from the qualities of head and heart, modified by habits of life, that distinguished the warriors of the north. They venerated their women as the chosen vessels of divine inspiration;* they loved them with the entire and passionate tenderness characteristic of pure morals, as the chaste partners of their weal and woe, and the mothers of their children; and they protected them with an earnest care proportioned to their helplessness.† But when we reflect that amongst these nations the whole business of existence was fighting, we perceive with self-evident clearness the absurdity of the supposition that women were, or could be, deemed the equals of men. In fact Teutonic women never seem to have possessed what we should esteem free agency, being held in constant wardship of some male relation or connection; even a widow becoming the ward of her husband's heir; of her own son, if he were of age. Their only legal rights were to the care, affection and respect of those guardian kinsmen; and public opinion, we believe, abundantly secured them in the enjoyment of those rights. And it may, perhaps, be admitted, as a collateral proof of how strongly the observance of the respect due to women was enforced, that one of the few occasions upon which it was allowable for a man to take the law into his own hands, was a guest's behaving or speaking immodestly at table in an honest man's house. If the offender would not forbear upon being admonished, the master of the house was authorized to beat him.

Women were no otherwise excluded from their father's succession than as the possession of his property was necessarily connected with the right and duty of bearing arms at the call of the country or of a feudal superior; and moveable property was strictly divided into the *heergewät* and the *gerade*, or what appertained to the equipment of a warrior and of a woman, which were allotted to male and female heirs accordingly. In the latter were included "religious books, such as women use to read." If a

* We do not mean that all women were thought to be inspired, but that it was only women who ever were so.

† By the Bavarian law a woman's *wergeld* was triple a man's, and was so expressly because she could not defend herself. If she bore arms she might be killed as cheap as a man. The rate of *wergeld* of the two sexes varies so capriciously in different states, that no conclusion can be drawn from its irregular difference.

widow had a daughter whose cry could be heard through a board, her *gerade* was proportionably increased. It should be remarked that minors seem to have had neither *heergewät* nor *gerade.*

In the midst of our admiration of the Teutonic tenderness and respect for the weaker sex as compared with the treatment experienced by women in the rest of the then known world, including Greece and even Rome, where they were better off, it is somewhat startling to find that a wife was purchased in Germany much as in Asia; nay, that by one law against adultery, he who seduced the wife of a freeman was bound to buy him another. Yet we cannot conceive the Teutonic purchase of a wife to have been really of the oriental character. It appears to us possible that the price paid by the bridegroom was a kind of acknowledgment of the absolute property of the bride's father in his child, of which we have already spoken. Grimm even sees ground to hope, that though the father bargained for his daughter's price, the sum received was given to the bride herself, and was therefore rather in the nature of a modern settlement. This is so gratifying a view of the matter, as saving the gallantry of the forefathers and the dignity of the foremothers of all nations of Teutonic descent, that we are unwilling to investigate it too minutely, and regret the necessity of stating that the three pennies, (or shillings, we are not sure which,) constituting the price of a widow in Lombardy, were paid to her guardian, and can hardly be considered as the lady's pin-money or jointure. Still they might, according to our suggestion, be a sort of acknowledgment of the rights he had acquired over her, or perhaps a compensation for some advantage he might have expected to derive from the management of her property, if she had any; if not, more simply, a partial repayment to the first husband's family of what she had originally cost them. It will be remembered that the husband's heir was the widow's natural guardian.

We trust our readers will by this time agree with us, that if our German and Norman, or Northman, ancestors were not actually the chivalrous heroes of romance, or even of old Froissart, they were yet further removed from the various barbarians of Asia, Africa or America, to whom they have been opprobriously likened; the savage temper generated by an insatiate desire of war and conquest being relieved, qualified and softened by pure and lofty virtues, by tenderness of affection, and by luxuriance of imagination, taking the word luxuriance in its best and simplest sense; and in this hope we take our leave of Grimm's *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer.*

ART. VI.—*Considérations Statistiques, Historiques, Militaires et Politiques, sur la Régence d'Alger: terminées par un aperçu rapide des opérations de l'Expédition Française de* 1830, *ainsi que par des observations sur les avantages que la France pourra retirer de l'occupation permanente de cette partie de l'Afrique; et par l'exposé des mésures déjà adoptées pour y former et encourager des établissemens agricoles et industriels; avec une carte de la Régence d'Alger.* Par le Baron Juchereau de Saint-Denys, Auteur des "Révolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808." Paris, 1831. 8vo.

THIS work is recommended to our attention by a variety of considerations. In the first place, the author participated in all the operations of the French army employed against Algiers, and discharged the important functions of sub-chief of the general staff from the time of the reduction of the town till the middle of October, 1830. His rank and opportunities, therefore, give a weight to his authority in military matters, which is further increased by the proofs of superior talent and of correct judgment afforded by the work itself. Secondly, previous to the expedition, he had been sent to the Levant on several missions of a diplomatic and military nature, which he appears to have executed in an able and satisfactory manner; and, during the brief campaign which decided the fate of Algiers, he had all the interpreters of the army under his immediate direction;—appointments which placed him in circumstances peculiarly favourable for acquiring extensive and precise information respecting this portion of Africa. Thirdly, the statements and views contained in the volume before us, are founded upon documents which the author obtained while at Algiers, upon his own personal observations, and upon laborious researches into a great number of Arabic, French, English, and Spanish works on the Barbary States, as well as upon a careful examination of the political interests and relations of the principal European powers. And, lastly, the production, in which M. Juchereau de Saint-Denys has embodied the information thus collected, bears internal evidence of the fidelity and industry with which he has executed his task, and contains more useful as well as entertaining knowledge, compressed within a small compass, than any work of the kind which has recently fallen into our hands.

Upon these grounds we shall make no scruple to avail ourselves pretty largely of the valuable materials which this accomplished officer has supplied, in order to lay before our readers, first, an account of the circumstances which led to the rupture between Algiers and France; secondly, military details of the expedition

which terminated in the subversion of the power of the Deys, and in the annexation of the Regency of Algiers as a colony to France; and, lastly, some general remarks on the physical, moral, and political condition of this portion of Africa, chiefly with a view to the question of definitive colonization, in regard to which a certain class of politicians in this country have been pleased to entertain serious apprehensions and to propagate grave alarms.

We shall entirely pretermit the first part of Colonel Juchereau's "Considerations" relative to the various attempts that have at different times been made by the Christian powers to abate the nuisance of Barbary, and more particularly of Algerine piracy. This part of the subject has been already rendered in a certain degree familiar to the English reader by various works, to which the interest attached to Lord Exmouth's successful expedition against Algiers in 1816 gave birth, and it is therefore the less necessary for us to enter upon it in this place.

I. France, which the name alone of Napoleon had caused the Barbary regencies to respect, even after his fleets had been swept from the ocean, appears to have sunk in their estimation when that great man no longer wielded her destinies; and, in point of fact, it is agreed on all hands, that, from the period of the Restoration, the policy of France with reference to Algiers assumed such a character of weakness, and was moreover conducted in a manner so absurd, not to say scandalous, as to be but ill adapted to inspire respect, much less confidence. In 1815, M. Duval had been employed, as consul-general of France, to re-establish political and commercial relations with the Barbary States. Born in the Levant, and thoroughly acquainted with the Turkish language, as well as with the usages and intrigues of the orientals, he was considered as a person eminently qualified to advance the interests of France, and to facilitate the accomplishment of the objects which the restored government had in view. But this judgment proved to be entirely erroneous. Educated in the timid, servile class of droguemans at Pera, and accustomed to the dark intrigues, and the tortuous, obsequious, and sometimes base expedients, employed by that class in their relations with the ministers of the Porte, he wanted the dignity and force of character requisite in the consular agent of a power like France, and, instead of firmness, decision, and rectitude of conduct, he preferred, in his intercourse with the Algerine government, having recourse to the finesse, suppleness, manœuvring and chicanery habitually practised at Constantinople. One of his first acts was the re-establishment of France in the rights which she had enjoyed for several centuries on that part of the sea-coast comprised between Seibous and Cape Bon. For the privileges conferred upon it,

the French African Company had originally paid to the regency of Algiers the sum of 17,000 francs; but this sum had first been doubled, and afterwards tripled, in the course of the eighteenth century. M. Duval, however, who ought to have insisted on the literal execution of former treaties, consented to the payment of a sum *twelve times the amount* of that originally stipulated for this concession. By the terms of subsisting treaties, France had the right of constructing forts and retrenchments armed with cannon, and of placing in them garrisons to protect her establishments. But Hussein Pasha, in restoring to France the territory anciently ceded, insisted that neither forts nor inclosures of any kind should be constructed, and, above all, that no artillery should anywhere be planted; and to these terms the French consul verbally assented, while, by means of presents and intrigues, he induced the Algerine ministers to wink at the erection and arming of some military works at Calle and Bona, which were completed before the Dey knew of their existence. Their construction being sanctioned by ancient treaties, however improperly it had been effected, Hussein, on coming to the knowledge of the fact, did not insist on their immediate demolition; but he was justly exasperated at the juggling manner in which it had been accomplished, and complained bitterly of the bad faith in which Duval had acted.

But the negociation relative to the unsettled claims of two Jewish merchants, Bacry and Busnach, proved the rock on which the tortuous finesse and diplomatic intrigues of Duval were finally wrecked. These claims arose out of circumstances of a peculiar description. In 1793, France, which had just become republican, was suffering from scarcity, and the southern departments were, owing to the failure of the harvests, in a state bordering on famine. With the view of alleviating the public distress, the government of the Republic applied to and obtained permission of the Dey of Algiers to export grain from the provinces of that regency; and two Jewish houses (those of Bacry and Busnach) were employed to conduct this commercial transaction. But although the direct agents of the Dey, these Jews appeared ostensibly as the exporters of the grain which was shipped at Algiers for Marseilles, and which, from 1793 to 1797, amounted in value to between £600,000 and £800,000. In the contracts no precise stipulation had been made for the payment of these supplies in specie; this, however, seems to have been the understanding of the contracting parties; and, in point of fact, the first cargoes of grain landed at Marseilles were paid in cash. But assignats having in the meanwhile become the legal currency of France, it was proposed to the Algerine merchants to pay for

their subsequent consignments of grain in this kind of money, although its rapid depreciation had reduced its value almost to a nullity; and the latter seem to have acquiesced, on condition of receiving an indemnity equivalent to the difference between the nominal and the real value of the French government paper. The parties, however, were unable to come to any understanding as to the fixation of this indemnity, owing to the fluctuation in the value of assignats. The demands of Bacry and Busnach were exorbitant, because, to the difference of monetary value they added usurious interest and enormous charges in name of commission. Negociators were appointed to settle the affair; but as the French remonstrated against the extravagance of these demands, and moreover insisted on a considerable abatement in the stipulated prices, on account of the damaged state of part of the grain, no definitive arrangement was entered into. By an approximative estimate, however, it was calculated that the sums legally due to Bacry and Busnach might amount to about seven millions of francs, or £280,000 sterling. But the violent revolutions of this period, and the continual wars of the empire, caused the subject to be lost sight of, although repeated representations and demands were made by the Algerine government; and it was not till 1826, under the ministry of Villèle, that these were taken into serious consideration, and funds set apart by legislative enactment for their liquidation.

Bacry and Busnach, however, seem to have been indebted in considerable sums to subjects of France; and by an arrangement entered into as long ago as the year 1819, it had been agreed between certain commissioners appointed by the French government and persons authorized to act for the Algerine houses, that a sum of two millions and a half of francs, or £100,000, should be lodged in the *caisse des despôts et consignations* to meet the claims of their French creditors. It is not pretended that the Dey was a party to this arrangement; and it is admitted that Bacry and Busnach, though ostensibly the furnishers of the grain, were merely his agents throughout the whole transaction. Nevertheless, from the length of time which had elapsed, and the natural presumption that he must have known and approved of the arrangement entered into by his agents, the French government were by no means prepared for the demand which he now made, that the sum in question should be restored as belonging to him; that the creditors of Bacry and Busnach should be sent to Algiers *there* to establish the validity of their claims; and that there should be remitted him a further sum of £80,000, which he accused the French consul of having received as the price of certain alleged good offices rendered to Bacry. He also required

that an immediate and precise answer should be given him. The subject was embarrassing; the accounts were in a state of confusion; and some delay unavoidably occurred. This exasperated Hussein beyond measure. He believed himself at once cheated and insulted, and, in the transports of rage which this feeling excited, he broke out against the consul, whom he called the vilest and most immoral of men. Matters were in this state when M. Duval presented himself before the Dey, on the 27th of April, 1827, to compliment him, according to custom, on the occasion of the festivities of the Bairam. "Have you a letter for me from your government?" demanded Hussein furiously, the instant the consul appeared. M. Duval answered respectfully in the negative; upon which the Dey, overcome by rage, broke out into the most virulent reproaches and menaces, made use of most opprobrious epithets, and finally struck the consul on the face with a fly-fan which he held in his hand.

This gross insult had been publicly inflicted, upon a solemn occasion, by the sovereign of the country, on the agent and representative of the French government. The national dignity of France had been directly attacked in the person of the consul; and a signal reparation was indispensable. It was immediately demanded. M. Duval received orders to discontinue all official relations with the Dey of Algiers, and to hold himself in readiness to depart. On the 11th of June, 1827, a French squadron, commanded by Captain Collet, appeared before Algiers. The consul and all the French residents immediately embarked without hinderance, and without any attempt of a conciliatory nature being made to detain them. Before setting sail, however, Captain Collet conceived it to be his duty to address to the Dey an imperious and menacing demand for reparation. But it led to nothing. Hussein treated it with contempt and scoffed at the threats with which the demand was accompanied. The rupture was therefore complete. War had become inevitable.

But the measures of the French government were, in the first instance, characterised by extreme imbecility. A squadron, indeed, received orders to repair to Algiers, and establish a vigorous blockade of the port; but Hussein, so far from being alarmed at this proceeding, regarded it as a mere bravado; and considering the French government as at once weak and pusillanimous, he issued an order, immediately after the departure of the consul, for arresting and reducing to slavery all French subjects within his dominions, and for pillaging and destroying the fort of Calle, and the other establishments belonging to France. This was drawing the sword and throwing away the scabbard. The odium of commencing hostilities clearly rests with the Dey. He may have had

just reason to complain of M. Duval individually, and he was certainly entitled, if he thought fit, to insist upon the recal of that functionary, as he had previously done in a case somewhat similar. But while nothing could excuse, far less justify the gross outrage done to the consul, France was bound to resent it as an attack on her national honour of the most flagrant description; and when, in addition to this public affront, the Dey chose to command the most violent aggressions to be made on the persons and properties of the subjects of France, and on the establishments belonging to that country, he placed himself in a position with regard to his antagonist which, utterly excluding all possibility of accommodation, rendered an appeal to arms perfectly inevitable. The time for prompt and decisive measures had arrived.

Still the French government temporized. In establishing a rigorous bockade of the town and port of Algiers, they expected to produce such misery and famine as would create a reaction, and excite some popular commotion, which would either overthrow the Dey or compel him to submit to terms. But they were disappointed in both these respects. Algiers received from the interior corn and other commodities necessary for its subsistence; whilst the Dey, shut up in the castle of the Cassauba, and surrounded by numerous guards, whose fidelity he secured by continual presents, was enabled at once to controul the turbulence of his own subjects, and to set at defiance the measures adopted against him. From the first, indeed, it was manifest that the blockade would prove absolutely unavailing and useless; yet, by some inexplicable *bizarrerie* of policy, or rather impolicy, it was persisted in for three long years, notwithstanding the mortality which decimated the crews of the blockading squadron, and the heavy expense of maintaining it on so exposed a station. Nor was this all. In 1829, when the total inefficiency of the blockade had been experimentally demonstrated, orders were issued by the minister of war for assembling a body of troops in the south of France; and the French government appeared to have at last become sensible of the necessity of resorting to more vigorous and decisive measures. But the system of hesitation still prevailed in the council of ministers. The blockade was continued; and M. de la Bretonnière was despatched to Algiers in August, 1829, to offer peace to the Dey on the most moderate and reasonable terms. His propositions were rejected with scorn; the word "reparation," which had escaped from the French negociator, threw the Pasha into a transport of fury; he declared that he was not the offending but the offended party, and that he would only grant peace to France on condition of being indem-

nified for the losses occasioned by the maritime blockade; and when M. de la Bretonnière, finding all hope of accommodation at an end, embarked on board the *Provence*, (a ship of the line which had conveyed him to Algiers,) the batteries of the Mole opened their fire upon her as she was weighing anchor to stand out of the bay, and continued to cannonade her as long as she was within reach. This last outrage, committed in consequence of a signal given from the Cassauba, and whilst the flag of truce was still flying at the main-top-gallant mast head of the *Provence*, brought matters to a crisis, and may be considered as having sealed the doom of Algiers. The only alternative now left for France was conquest, or abject humiliation at the feet of a barbarian, who had, for the second time, violated the most sacred obligation of international law, and committed other aggressions which, of themselves, were sufficient to warrant a declaration of war.

II. Polignac had just entered into office when intelligence of the failure of the negociation under M. de la Bretonnière, and of the insult offered to the French flag, reached Paris; and it is to the credit of that minister, in other respects so misguided and unfortunate, that he lost no time in preparing to vindicate the national honour from the stain which it had contracted under the imbecile administration of his immediate predecessors. It was indeed alleged at the time, and has often been repeated since, that Polignac was moved to this, not so much from any sensibility regarding the dignity and character of the French nation, as from a desire to gratify the military and enterprising genius of the people, and above all to divert attention from those measures which he was already meditating for the subversion of the charter, and the overthrow of public liberty. But, independently of the suspicion with which all refinements of this description ought to be received by a calm and impartial historian, it is only necessary to recur to the circumstances above narrated, to perceive that matters had already been urged on to a crisis which rendered it indispensably necessary to have recourse to strong measures; and that the most popular and patriotic minister that France ever boasted of, had he then been at the helm of affairs, must have acted precisely as Polignac did, whatever opinion he may have formed as to the accessory political advantages or disadvantages likely to result from such a contest. France had been fairly driven to the wall by the fanatical barbarian at the head of the regency of Algiers;—her moral power, which constitutes three-fourths of the strength of nations, had been twice attacked in the tenderest part;—she had been placed in a position where it has been proverbially said that even a coward will strike; and it is inconceivable that any government so circumstanced, and above all placed at the head of

a gallant people, should have hesitated for one moment as to the course to be pursued. Polignac had no misgivings and no doubts upon the subject. An expedition on a scale of suitable magnitude was resolved on, and the determination of the French government communicated to all the great powers in alliance with France. Nor were the latter slow in expressing their approbation of an enterprise which had for its object to deliver Christian nations from a yoke equally debasing and disgraceful. England alone, under the auspices of the Duke of Wellington, appeared to hesitate; and, after stating some objections founded on the commercial interests of Great Britain, desired to know what were the intentions of France, with reference to the regency of Algiers, in the event of the latter being conquered, which it was not doubted would be the case. Polignac replied that France, when insulted, required the assistance of no one to avenge her wrongs; and that she had no occasion to consult any body as to what she ought to do with her new conquest. And with this haughty answer the duke chose to remain satisfied.

In 1827, at the time of the rupture with Hussein Pasha, a plan of attack by land against the town of Algiers had been prepared from materials found in the war-office, and particularly from an excellent survey made by Boutin, colonel of engineers, in 1807. With modifications, rendered necessary by subsequent changes, this was now adopted; the history of former expeditions was anxiously scrutinized by military men of the greatest ability; and as Charles V. and Count O'Reilly had both failed before Algiers with armies of from 25,000 to 30,000 men each, it was concluded that the French expeditionary force should possess an effective strength of from 25,000 to 30,000 infantry, and from 500 to 600 cavalry, besides detachments of artillery and engineers, of the train of military equipages, and of workmen proportioned to the number of the army, as well as the labours of the siege, and the wants of the troops. It was also resolved that every thing necessary for the success of the expedition should be supplied of the very best quality, and upon the most liberal scale. The troops destined for this enterprise were composed,—1. Of thirty-two battalions of infantry of the line, and four battalions of light infantry, each battalion consisting of 855, making an effective total of 30,852 men, including officers; 2. Of six squadrons of light cavalry, consisting of 534 men, and 503 horses; 3. Of 2,327 artillery, including officers, divided into 698 for the mounted batteries, 1,040 for the besieging batteries, 104 pontoon-men, 63 artillery workmen, and 422 of the train of the parks; 4. Of 1,310 of the engineer corps, with their officers; 5. Of 828 pioneers; 6. Of 851 men of the train of military equipages; and, 7. Of 47 men

belonging to the service of the posts, and of the army chest;—forming an effective total, including the general, the staffs of the divisions, and the different arms, and persons attached to the administrative service and military intendancy, of 37,877 men. The infantry was divided into three divisions of three brigades each, every brigade being composed of two regiments, and each regiment of two battalions. The light cavalry was attached to the third division. The artillery was divided into that for the service of the field, and the battering train; and the field artillery consisted of five batteries, one of which was destined for mountain service. The sappers were formed of detachments from three regiments of engineers; the pioneers, bakers, butchers, and others were armed and regimented, so as to serve as auxiliaries to the infantry; and the train of military equipages was organized upon a new plan, the advantages of which were experienced in the course of the campaign. The French ministers were for some time undecided in their choice of a person to command this important expedition, more especially as marshals of France had offered their services, and general officers who had formerly commanded corps-d'armée volunteered to serve in the ranks; but Count Bourmont, having signified to his colleagues a desire to obtain this appointment, was at length named general of the army of Africa, without, however, resigning the portfolio of the war department, which was placed in reserve till his return. Lieutenant-General Desprez was appointed head of the staff.

The *matériel* of the artillery was ample. That for the service of the field consisted of four field batteries of four guns (eight pounders) and two howitzers each, with eight caissons for the guns, four for the howitzers, a spare carriage, two cars, and a field forge, with five hundred rounds of ammunition for each piece; of a mountain battery of six small howitzers, with two hundred rounds for each howitzer; and several chevalets for discharging Congreve rockets, five hundred of which were embarked. The field artillery was mounted on the English system, the superiority of which had been established in the course of the Peninsula war, and it followed all the movements of the columns through thickets and broken grounds without any obstacle impeding or delaying its march. The rockets were found of little use in this campaign; for the Bedouins and their horses soon became familiarized with these projectiles, which, in the end, they despised, because, in almost every case, they could avoid them. The same thing precisely had occurred in the course of the Burmese war. The battering train consisted of thirty twenty-four pounders, twenty sixteen-pounders, and twelve twelve-pounders, all brass guns; twelve eight-inch howitzers, eight ten-inch mor-

tars, and a hundred and fifty rampart guns; with a hundred and ten gun carriages, a hundred and thirty-six cars of all kinds, twenty carts of a new construction, and ten forges. The provision for each gun was a thousand rounds, and for each mortar and howitzer eight-hundred rounds. Thirteen hundred and fifty horses were exclusively allotted for the service of the artillery. The *matériel* of the engineer department consisted of twenty drag-ropes, eight forges, twenty-seven thousand pioneer and trenching tools, four thousand palisades; a hundred and fifty cubic metres of wood for the construction of the block-houses; two hundred thousand sacks, for chevaux-de-frise, with several other articles; and a hundred and eighty-two horses were attached to the service of this department. The *matériel* of the military intendancy was established on a large basis, suited to the nature of the climate, and the probable want of supplies in the neighbourhood of Algiers. During the whole campaign the utmost attention was paid to the health and preservation of the troops; and by adopting the method of purchases by commission, subject to an active and rigid inspection, regular supplies were ensured.

The naval force consisted of eleven sail of the line, three of which only carried their full complement of guns and men; twenty-four frigates, eighteen of which carried sixty guns of large calibre (thirty-pounders); seven corvettes of from twenty to forty guns; twenty-six brigs of from eighteen to thirty guns; eight loaded corvettes, eight bomb-ketches, eight sloops, two schooners, seven steam-boats, one balancelle, and 102 vessels of war, having on board about 27,000 seamen and marines, and the whole under the command of Admiral Duperré. The convoy consisted of 400 merchant vessels of all classes and nations, 150 of which were destined for the transport of provisions, and 250 for carrying the matériel of the different branches of the service. A number of flat-bottomed boats, drawing only a few inches of water, and with one end so constructed as to serve as a sort of draw-bridge, were also provided for facilitating the disembarkation of the troops.

By the 18th of May the embarkation of the troops, horses, and whole *matériel* of the expeditionary army had been completed; the general-in-chief and the staff went on board on the 19th, and it was expected that the fleet would sail on the morning of the 20th; but owing to contrary winds it did not weigh anchor till the afternoon of the 25th, when a favourable breeze enabled it to clear the narrow entrance of the roadstead of Toulon, and to put out to sea. The fleet was then divided into three columns; that of the right being led by the *Trident* ship of the line, Rear-Admiral Rosamel; that of the centre, by the *Provence*, of eighty guns,

bearing the flag of Admiral Duperré; and that of the left, by Captain Hugon, in the *Créole* corvette; while Palma bay, in the island of Majorca, was indicated as the general rendezvous, in the event of separation or dispersion by foul weather. On the morning of the 30th signal was made that the coast of Barbary was in sight. But as the wind was fresh, the swell heavy, and several vessels of the convoy were separated from the fleet and no longer in sight, and as a disembarkation, in such circumstances, must have been attended with difficulty and danger, the admiral made the signal for the fleet to put about and steer for the rendezvous in Palma bay, where it arrived on the 2d of June. In this position it remained till the 9th, when all the transports that had parted company having joined, it again set sail in the same order as on its departure from Toulon, and on the evening of the 12th descried the coast of Africa. On the 13th the fleet passed Algiers, and, favoured by a fresh breeze from east-north-east, directed its course in perfect order on Cape Caxin, whence, proceeding westward, it advanced rapidly towards the peninsula of Sidi-Ferruch. The two brigs, *Dragon* and *Cigogne*, led the column of attack, sounding as they advanced; and were followed by the *Provence*, the *Breslau*, the *Surveillante*, the *Iphigénie*, the *Didon*, the *Pallas*, the *Guerrière*, the *Herminie*, and the *Syrène*, destined to attack the tower of Chica and the batteries of the coast. The cannoniers were at their guns, eager for the combat; and it was momentarily expected that the tower would open its fire on the two brigs at the head of the column, which, favoured by the winds, were rapidly approaching it. But silence and solitude reigned in Torre Chica, and the surrounding country. The Algerines had entirely evacuated the post, and also a *rasant* battery of solid masonry, with twelve embrasures, constructed the year before, on the western part of the peninsula of Sidi-Ferruch, to defend the anchorage in that quarter.

This peninsula is situated five leagues to the westward of Algiers, and half a league to the eastward of the embouchure of the Masafran, which discharges itself into the western bay. It projects about a mile and a half from south to north, and its mean breadth is upwards of a mile. It is low and sandy at the gorge, but towards the northern part rises to the height of nearly a hundred feet, and terminates in two abrupt capes or headlands, while the tower of Chica occupies the culminating point of the elevation. It follows, that, if a work capable of a good defence had been erected on the insulated and commanding height of Sidi-Ferruch, the operation of landing would have been rendered extremely difficult. But the ignorance of the Algerines in the construction of field-works, and their fear of being turned and

having their retreat cut off near the embouchure of the Masafran, caused them to abandon the defence of the peninsula and the two bays of Sidi-Ferruch; and they paid dearly for the error into which their inexperience betrayed them. In fact, they seem to have been seized with that inexplicable infatuation which is proverbially said to precede, as it unquestionably leads to, destruction. They had ignorantly abandoned the defence of the sea-coast; but still they might have retired a league behind Staweli, and there occupied a commanding position favourable to the developement of their forces, where, behind retrenchments, they might have awaited *de pied ferme* the attack of the enemy; more especially as the latter could only assail them on a front narrower than their own, and by marching across broken ground covered with underwood. Their chiefs, however, chose to place *à cheval* on the road to Algiers, behind two redoubts about twelve hundred yards from the coast, and near a yasma or fountain, all the troops they had been able to assemble on this part of the coast, amounting to about 25,000 men; a disposition as bad as the wit of man could imagine, since it was the only one which could neither prevent the disembarkation, nor cover the capital, after the hostile force had set foot on *terra firma*. This was speedily proved by the event;—no subseqent effort could retrieve the fatal error which was here committed.

At day-break on the 14th, the troops began to land on the peninsula of Sidi-Ferruch. It had previously been resolved, in the event of the enemy appearing in force on the beach to oppose the descent, to approach the coast in a long line formed of lighters and large sloops, which should advance simultaneously and in order, under the protection of the steam-boats and brigs destined to sweep the shore with their fire. But the enemy having taken a position distant more than a quarter of a league from the coast, this complicated mode of disembarkation became unnecessary; and the troops were landed successively by brigades, beginning with the first brigade of the first division, which was accompanied by a battery of field artillery, another of mountain-guns, a portion of the rocket corps, and a company of miners. The fire of the redoubts opened as soon as the boats were observed to put off from the ships; but it appears to have done little execution, and rather accelerated than retarded the operation of landing. The instant they set foot on the beach the infantry formed in close column, at the foot of the hill, with their artillery in front; and the company of miners proceeded to take possession of the tower and buildings of Sidi-Ferruch, which had been abandoned by the enemy. When the second brigade had landed and formed in column, the first brigade deployed into line and advanced towards

the enemy; and notwithstanding the continual fire of the redoubts, the same movements were repeated by the succeeding brigades, who alternately formed column and deployed with an order and precision highly creditable to the military character and discipline of the invading force, considering that it was almost entirely composed of young soldiers. As the first division could not advance to the attack of the enemy's position until the second had landed and formed, it was for some time exposed to the fire of the redoubts without being able to make any return; but during the latter part of this disagreeable halt, the troops were partially sheltered behind the undulations of the ground at the gorge of the peninsula. When the second division had disembarked and formed, the brigades of the first received the welcome order to move forward to the attack of the redoubts and of the camp near the fountain, and instantly advanced with characteristic rapidity and impetuosity. The redoubts were assailed, turned, and carried in a moment, at the point of the bayonet; the camp shared the same fate, and by the same means; and the enemy, unable to withstand the impetuosity of the onset, were every where broken, and forced to retire precipitately, in the greatest disorder, to the heights before the plateau of Staweli. Eleven pieces of cannon, sixteen and twenty-four-pounders, and two twelve-inch mortars, fell into the hands of the French, whose loss was inconsiderable, amounting only to thirty-five killed and wounded. The disembarkation of the third division was not completed until the evening of the 14th, when it occupied, as a second line, the peninsula of Sidi-Ferruch. The first and second then took post in advance, the one on the right and the other on the left, with their respective flanks resting on the shores of the two bays. While these operations were in progress, the engineer corps traced out and began to execute, under the direction of General Valazé, a line of entrenchments across the gorge of the peninsula, which was destined to serve as the general depôt of the army during the siege.

During the whole of the 15th, a brisk fire of musketry was kept up at the advanced posts between the French light troops and a considerable number of Bedouin Arabs and Kobayles, about the half of whom were mounted. The French sharpshooters, brave but inexperienced, fought exposed, and in ignorance of the enemy with whom they had to contend. The Arabs and Kobayles, on the other hand, armed with long muskets of a superior calibre, took advantage of bushes, rocks, and every inequality of the ground that could afford cover, continually changed their position, and, being excellent marksmen, seldom missed their aim. Our author pronounces them the best sharpshooters in the world; and it appears from his statement that, in all the skirmishes at the ad-

vanced posts, the loss of the French was, in every instance, more considerable than that of the Algerines. On the 16th, it came on to blow a perfect hurricane from the west-north-west, and for a moment the fate of the expedition seemed about to be assimilated to that under Charles V. More than half of the convoy of transports had not yet arrived; while of the ships in the bay several drove from their anchors and were in imminent danger of foundering on the coast. The storm lasted three hours, and but for the promptitude and skill of Admiral Duperré its effects would have been most disastrous. At the end of the time, however, the wind fell as suddenly as it had risen, the danger disappeared, and a dead calm ensued. The Admiral then made signal for the greater part of the ships of war to quit the bay, beat to windward, and gain an offing; while such of the merchant ships as had discharged their cargoes were ordered to sail for France without delay, and the rest to follow in succession as fast as their cargoes could be landed.

In the meanwhile the force of the enemy was every day augmented by reinforcements from the interior, and two large redoubts were already constructed and armed on the plateau of Staweli. Bourmont had neglected to avail himself of the impression produced by his first success; and, though bred in the school of Napoleon, he transgressed the first maxim in the military system of that renowned warrior. The increase of their numbers, and the immobility of the French divisions, restored confidence to the enemy, who, on the 17th, and particularly on the 18th, began to show themselves with great audacity, maintaining an incessant fire against the outposts, and killing or wounding several hundred men each day. This bootless waste of life was, in every view, disgraceful to Bourmont. If he judged it inexpedient to advance against the enemy until the latter had concentrated all their means, and regained courage to assume the offensive, he ought at least to have covered the guards of the advanced posts by epaulements or trenches: nor is the matter mended by his miserable apology, that these sanguinary skirmishes had the effect of inuring the young soldiers to war, and inspiring them with greater confidence; as if death without revenge and without glory, like that of bullocks in a slaughter-house, were calculated to improve the military qualities of the soldiers of a nation essentially warlike, and among whom bravery is inherent and universal. But fortunately this state of suspense was not destined to be of long continuance. On the evening of the 18th two scheiks from the vicinity of Alcolea, on the Masafran, came to Count Bourmont, and informed him that all the reinforcements expected by the Algerine government had at length arrived on the plateau of Staweli;

and that it was the intention of the enemy, early on the morrow, to attack the French army at all points with a mass of about sixty thousand men. This was important intelligence, and it was not neglected, although Count Bourmont was evidently not prepared for the audacity which it indicated.

From Sidi-Ferruch to Staweli the ground, which rises insensibly and presents few irregularities of surface, is everywhere covered with a thick entanglement of evergreen bushes, and the only communication from the sea to the plateau is by a narrow and sinuous path. Staweli is not a village, but only an *adouar*, or temporary place of encampment, where the Arab shepherds are accustomed, during the fine season, to establish themselves with their flocks. A small rivulet traverses the plateau, and unites with a larger stream, which, at the distance of two leagues, sweeps round the western declivity of Mount Bugiaria. Vegetation is here more active than on the plain, and the margins of the rivulet are diversified with a few forest trees. The plateau stretches out almost horizontally towards the north east; and on the right and left of the road from the *adouar* of Staweli, may be seen, first, a group of small buildings near the tomb of a Mahommedan Santon, then a large caravanserai, and lastly, a considerable number of country houses and gardens. A valley, called Backshé-Derré, deep and well-cultivated, extends between the eastern extremity of the plateau and the first elevations of Bugiaria; and these again, commanded by the peak which gives its name to the whole group, form an insulated mass, bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by the vast plain of Metija, extending from the Masafran to the Buberac, and from the sea to the Little Atlas. From Staweli to the valley of Backshé-Derré, the thick entangled briars are only crossed by narrow and tortuous paths; but to the west of Bugiaria there is a road practicable for carriages, and a little onward, the remains of a Roman causeway. Such was the position chosen by the Algerines for making a stand in defence of their capital; and it is obvious on the first glance that it might have been turned by the valley.

The Algerines began the battle of the 19th by throwing out a cloud of tirailleurs, which being successively reinforced extended their formation, and made demonstrations as if they intended to turn at once both wings of the French line. Behind them marched two strong columns of infantry and cavalry intermingled; the one led by Ibrahim Aga, chief of the Janissaries and minister of war, and the other by the Bey of Constantine. Ibrahim commanded in chief the whole army, and the Bey of Tittery acted as his lieutenant. The column of Ibrahim consisted of 3000 Janissaries, 5000 Koul-Oglous, 10,000 Moors of the city, the troops of

the Bey of Tittery, and 6000 Kobayles. The column conducted by the Bey of Constantine was composed of a detachment of 1000 Janissaries, the contingents of Constantine and Oran, and 6000 Kobayles. The former marched against the division of General Berthezène, the latter against that of General Loverdo. They deployed at a short distance from the positions occupied by the French, and rushed boldly on the two divisions opposed to them; whilst their cavalry, having broke through the line of *chevaux-de-frise* at a number of points, executed several charges, uttering at the same time the most diabolical yells. The French soldiers steadily awaited these, and reserving their fire till the enemy were quite close, did prodigious execution on the advancing masses. Nothing daunted, however, the Algerines renewed their charges with increased fury; but the musketry of the battalions, the howitzer shells, and the grape-shot, which ploughed avenues through the confused masses, repulsed all their attacks; and the ground in front of the French divisions was covered with the carcases of men and horses.

At this critical moment, Bourmont, who had quitted Sidi-Ferruch as soon as the noise of the firing was heard, arrived on the field of battle, having previously ordered two brigades of the division under the Duke d'Escars to march from the peninsula, and establish themselves as a second line in the rear of the divisions of Berthezène and Loverdo. Why this was not done sooner, more especially as Bourmont had the night before been apprised of the intended attack—and why the general-in-chief himself remained loitering in Sidi-Ferruch until the battle had actually commenced, thus leaving the two divisions attacked for a considerable time without any orders and engaged in a most unequal conflict—our author has not explained, nor indeed is it easy to conjecture. On his arrival, however, Bourmont acted with a degree of promptitude and decision worthy of his former reputation. Observing some hesitation among the Algerines, whose ardour had been considerably cooled by so many fruitless attacks, he instantly ordered the two divisions to quit their defensive positions, and march against the enemy with the whole of their artillery. This movement proved decisive. The rattling fire of the battalions at the head of the columns, the shells and grape discharged with prodigious rapidity by the field-artillery, which followed all the movements of the infantry, the rapid and compact march of the brigades, and the impenetrability of their order, struck the Algerines with dismay. For a few minutes they maintained a show of resistance; then, breaking and dispersing in all directions, they precipitately abandoned their positions, redoubts, camp, baggage, tents, provisions, and camels.

The rout was total, and the victory complete. The French pursued for more than a league from the field of battle, and then established themselves on the position of Staweli, in the tents which the Algerines, in their disorderly flight, had not even found time to overturn. The loss of the French was considerable, amounting to about 200 killed and 500 wounded. That of the Algerines must have been great, from the ravages committed by the artillery in their deep masses, particularly during the retreat; but, according to their custom, they carried off the greater part of their dead and wounded; and the want of cavalry prevented the French from making many prisoners.

With the battle the energy of Bourmont appears to have ceased. He had gained the victory, but he knew not how to turn it to account. He had served with some distinction under Napoleon, but he had not learned to imitate his master in the use of victory. Ordinary commanders may gain battles; great captains alone render them productive of important results. At this time the demoralization of the Algerines was complete. The Janissaries and Koul-Oglous had entered the city shouting treason, menacing the Dey, and giving out, by way of extenuating their own defeat, that the French had above 100,000 men in the field. The most frightful anarchy prevailed, and terror was at its height. Of this Bourmont was apprised the following day by Arab deserters, who came in great numbers into the French camp; and it was even suggested to him to profit on the instant by these disorders, and to push forward to Algiers, the immediate surrender of which might be the consequence of the panic. In war some risk must always be incurred; but the chances here were clearly in favour of a forward movement on the capital, which, if it had succeeded, as we think it must have done, would have put an end to the war at once, and spared the further effusion of blood, whilst its failure could not have been productive of any serious inconvenience. Napoleon would have followed this course; he would have made the battle do the whole work without a siege; he would have known how to profit by the first impulse of terror and despair on minds so constituted as to pass by an instant transition from one extreme to another; and the result would, in all human probability, have justified his daring. But Bourmont was not Napoleon. He saw the objections, but could not weigh them against the arguments in favour of an immediate advance, and estimate their real value by a rigorous comparison. He reasoned as men of timid and confined understandings always do, when they shrink from bold councils, and want an apology for so doing. The intelligence respecting the disorders in Algiers might be exaggerated; the sudden appearance of

the French before the gates of the city might compose, instead of fomenting intestine commotions; the intrenchments of Sidi-Ferruch were not more than half finished; the redoubts intended to protect the lines of operations were not yet constructed; part of the convoy from Palma bay had not arrived; provisions for twelve days only had been landed. So reasoned Count Bourmont, and such were the considerations which determined him not to advance. To us, however, they appear perfectly futile. Algiers was distant only five leagues, and might have been reached by one vigorous march. The whole of the enemy's troops had crowded in dismay into the town, which was in terrible confusion and disorder; and this the rapid approach of the French divisions would unquestionably have aggravated. The communications of the army were in no sort of danger. What then was there to prevent the forward movement? If the advance had led to an immediate surrender, the matter would have been ended at once. If the Algerines had gathered courage from despair and held out, the French army could have been in no way compromised, or in a worse position than that in which it was placed by the excessive *prudence* of Bourmont.

What really followed? Astonished at not being pursued, the Algerines speedily recovered from their terror, and beginning to think their affairs were not so bad as they had imagined, they plucked up courage, returned, and attempted a serious attack on the morning of the 24th, developing a force of about 30,000 men. They were repulsed with some difficulty, and retiring leisurely, took up a position on some of the elevations forming part of the mountainous system of the Bugiaria. The French troops stopped in the valley of Backshé-Derré, and there took up a position which they occupied until the 29th June. This was another capital error, and cost the lives of a great number of men. In the bottom of the valley they were commanded on all sides; none of their movements escaped the Algerines; whilst two batteries of position erected on the hills, and an encircling cloud of the most expert tirailleurs, maintained a continual fire, which, in five days, killed or wounded 900 men of one division, being a greater loss than that sustained in the battle of Staweli. Had military science presided over the arrangements of the French, their troops would have been placed a little to the rear, on the heights opposite to those occupied by the enemy, leaving the valley as debateable ground between the two armies. This would have saved the lives of many valuable soldiers, and, moreover, superseded the necessity of a new attack, as the enemy's position might easily have been turned by the plateau of Staweli, and their line of retreat menaced, perhaps cut off. As it was,

however, it became necessary to dislodge them from the heights commanding the vallay, to push them vigorously towards Algiers, to drive them into the city, and to complete its investment; an operation, which, if the observations we have already made be well-founded, was solely occasioned by the blundering procrastination of the general-in-chief. Three brigades were destined to assault the front of the Algerine positions, while the four others, executing a movement on the left, were to turn the enemy, and take them in flank and in reverse. This mode of attack was well conceived and successfully executed. Before day-break on the morning of the 29th, the left of the Algerines had already been turned. Taken in flank, attacked in front, and menaced on the rear, they gave way at all points, abandoning the whole of their heavy artillery. The French troops immediately pursued; and as their field artillery, notwithstanding the narrowness and badness of the roads, kept pace with the first line of infantry, the shot and shells which were incessantly discharged at the retreating masses, contributed no doubt to accelerate their retrograde movement. The Algerines committed a great fault in neglecting to occupy, with a strong defensive work, the summit of Mount Bugiaria, which, at a short distance, commands Algiers and the fort of the Emperor, and forms, in fact, the key of all the surrounding positions. Had they done so, the result might have been different; at all events, the French could not have undertaken the siege without first making themselves master of this position, which, if strongly fortified, could only have been carried at an immense sacrifice of life, and might even have successfully resisted all the efforts of the assailants. It was now occupied by two brigades of the division Berthezène, which established themselves on the summit and heights adjoining, so as to connect with the brigades Hurel, Berthier, and Montlivaud, which were posted to the right and left of the Roman causeway, in rear of the ground chosen for the commencement of the works and the opening of the trenches. The head-quarters were established in a country house about a mile from the fort of the Emperor, whilst the park of artillery, the magazines, and the matériel of the engineer department, were stationed in rear of the head-quarters.

Such were the first operations in the investment of Algiers; but they were far from being complete. The whole army bivouacked in the open air from the Roman causeway to the sea; while the three brigades of the division d'Escars were seriously compromised in their advanced position. The danger indeed was imminent during the whole night of the 29th; for the division Loverdo, overcome by fatigue, was still considerably in the rear; and there being no other means of support at hand, if the

Algerines had made a general sortie during the night, they might have turned the advanced brigades by their right, overpowered them with vastly superior numbers, and inflicted a total defeat on this portion of the invading force. The situation of the French army was, indeed, most critical; even the fate of the expedition itself quivered at this moment in the balance; and all these hazards, be it observed, were incurred in consequence of Bourmont's incapacity to profit by victory, and the suspension of active operations that followed the battle of Staweli. But the ignorance and discouragement of the Algerines happily rendered innocuous the blundering temerity of their adversaries.

We come now to the investment and siege. As soon as the division Loverdo had joined, and taken up a position on the right of the advanced brigades, measures were adopted to complete the investment of the place, and it was at first proposed to carry the lines quite round the land front, resting the two extremities on the sea, in order to cut off all communication between the town and the country. But although the occupation of Mount Bugiaria, and soon after of the battery at Point Pescada, were eminently calculated to facilitate the execution of such a scheme on the left, there were no such advantages on the right, where it would have been necessary to carry fort Barbazoun, and to occupy the plain from the sea to the foot of the heights; whilst a very considerable force must also have been kept ready in the plain, into which the strong garrison in the city and suburbs might at any time have debouched with promptitude and facility by the Barbazoun gate. On a more mature examination of the defences and localities, therefore, the prolongation of the line of investment to the sea on the right was abandoned; the troops were concentrated in force on the heights; all the points by which the enemy was likely to attack were strongly occupied; and besides the men strictly necessary for the labours of the siege and the defence of the works in case of a sortie, a mass was left disposable for repulsing all exterior attacks and maintaining the communications with Sidi-Ferruch, the central and only depôt of provisions and munitions of war, which was guarded by 1500 marines, landed from the fleet, and a regiment of infantry, making in all 3000 men. A brigade, stationed at Staweli, furnished garrisons to all the redoubts on the line of communication, as well as escorts to the convoys from Staweli to the head-quarters near Algiers. The labours of the engineers had been unremitting. Besides the extensive works of Sidi-Ferruch, they had, from the 15th to the 29th June, constructed a road practicable for heavy artillery from the general depôt to Algiers, a distance of five

leagues, and had also erected and armed twelve redoubts, at convenient points, for protecting the line of communication.

Before the interior defences of Algiers could be attacked with any prospect of success, it became necessary, as a preliminary step, to carry the fort of the Emperor, which commanded the Cassauba, the town, and all the exterior forts. This castle, the principal exterior defence of Algiers on the side of the country, was itself commanded by the upper plateau of Mount Bugiaria, on which no military work had been constructed, and whence the interior might be seen into. It had been erected in the sixteenth century, on the site where the Emperor Charles V. had pitched his tent during the disastrous attack of 1541, and originally bore the name of Hassan; but having been repaired, altered and enlarged in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it now possessed an *enceinte* of an irregular square form, with three sides flanked by bastioned towers towards the town, and one side flanked by a single tower at the salient angle towards the country. Its walls were forty feet high on the side of the town, and twenty-five on that of the country. It had neither exterior works nor ditches, but in the centre was a very elevated tower, surrounded by casemated magazines. The bastions, the curtains and the terrace of the central tower, were mounted with guns of a large calibre, pointed through embrasures cut in the solid masonry of the parapets; and mortars in profusion were placed on the rampart, on the terrace of the tower or *reduit*, and in other situations. The most expert cannoniers, and about 1500 Janissaries, selected from the militia, formed the garrison of this fort, which they had sworn to defend to the last extremity. We may add, that while the fort of the Emperor discovered every thing on the side of the town, which it had evidently been intended to control, it could discern nothing on the side of the country, and was commanded at the distance of about 250 yards.

The besiegers broke ground before this fortress on the night of the 29th June, and so rapidly were the works urged forward, that on the night of the 30th the adjoining height was crowned by the trenches in all their developement. On that of the 1st the communications were enlarged, and the construction of breaching batteries commenced. On the 2d the artillery was brought into the trenches, and all the batteries armed, six 16-pounders being placed at the extreme left to enfilade the front of attack, and twelve 24-pounders in the breaching batteries; while four eight-inch mortars, and four howitzers of the same calibre, were destined to overwhelm the garrison of the fort by destroying the wretched casemates under which they were sheltered. On the 3d the works were completed, the batteries provisioned, and large depôts of

munitions and projectiles established at the foot of the height on the reverse. On the 4th, at day-break, the besiegers were ready to open their fire. In the meanwhile the besieged had not been idle. They seldom, indeed, fired during the night, and it was then that the works advanced most rapidly. But during the day they made frequent sorties, which were uniformly repulsed, and kept up a continued and well-directed fire, which occasioned a daily loss to the besiegers of from 80 to 100 men, the greater part of their bombs falling in the trenches, and sometimes causing sad havoc. Their attention, however, was latterly called off, and a considerable diversion produced, by a cannonade which, at the request of Count Bourmont, the admiral opened, with all his available means, against the batteries of the port, and those of the maritime forts situated at the two extremities of the town. Since the visit of Lord Exmouth in 1816, the works on the sea front, particularly on the mole and at the entrance of the harbour, had been so much strengthened, that a serious attack from the seaward was no longer practicable, at least by French ships of war; and, in fact, the admiral seems on this occasion to have kept at a very respectful distance, " peu de boulets atteignant les batteries ennemies *à cause de la distance* et du mouvement des vaisseaux." Nevertheless, the cannonade answered its object, by creating a temporary diversion.

At day-break on the 4th, all the French batteries, on a signal given, opened their fire with a tremendous salvo, which shook the ground to a considerable distance; and the attack commenced in earnest. The guns, mortars and howitzers were worked with incredible energy; 16 and 24-pound shot fell thick and fast on the merlons and terre-pleins of the batteries of the fort, causing the most dreadful havoc; portions of the walls tumbled down, merlons disappeared, pieces were dismounted or overturned, and the cannoniers blown away as soon as they appeared on the rampart; while the bombs and howitzer-shells falling in the interior, carried death in every direction by their descent, their *ricochets*, and their explosion. But terrible as the effect of the French batteries must have been on the numbers crowded within so small a space, as well as on the defences, the fire of the fort was kept up for a considerable time. The cannoniers who fell were instantly replaced by others equally intrepid and equally devoted, and the pieces were in no instance abandoned until they were rendered wholly unserviceable. At half-past nine, however, the fort ceased to make any return to the uninterrupted fire of the French batteries. By this time all the guns had been dismounted, the carriages broken, the cannoniers killed or dispersed, the casemates destroyed, and the terre-pleins and fosse of the reduit covered with

heaps of dead; and the feeble remains of the garrison had taken refuge in the town with the resolution of perishing there together. When these melancholy details were made known to the Dey, his pride and obstinacy, hitherto so unyielding, entirely forsook him, and he gave orders that the fort should be evacuated, and, as soon as the garrison and the wounded had retired, blown up, by setting fire to the powder magazines. The French still continued to cannonade the walls in order to make a practicable breach, and the vivacity of their fire had suffered no abatement, when, all of a sudden, they were astounded by a terrific explosion, which shook the ground like an earthquake, followed by the apparition of an immense column, thick and dark, which, rising in the air to the height of more than 500 feet, and rapidly expanding at the base, embraced the whole horizon. In an instant, cannon, projectiles, stones, timbers and dead bodies covered the environs of the fort, the ruins of which only became visible after the slow precipitation of the materials pulverised by the explosion. The upper part of the tower had disappeared, the walls of two sides of the *enceinte* were almost entirely thrown down, and those of the other sides were burst open in all parts. The spectacle was truly imposing; but far from being appalled by it, the French soldiers, employed in guarding the trenches, rushed forward to the smoking ruins in order to take possession; and General Hurel, who happened to command in the trenches, followed and regulated the movement. With the fort of the Emperor the Algerines had also abandoned the space included between it and the Cassauba.

Calm now succeeded to the terrible cannonade of the morning; but not a moment was lost in commencing preparations for the construction of new batteries against the Cassauba and the town, on the site of an old ruined fort called the Star, and equi-distant from the Cassauba and the fort of the Emperor. About two hours past mid-day, however, the bearer of a flag of truce was announced. This was Sidi Mustapha, private secretary to the Dey, who came to offer, on the part of his master, the abandonment of all his old claims against France, the reparation which had been demanded of him before the rupture, and the payment of the whole expense of the campaign, provided the French would consent to leave the country. These conditions were proposed with much hesitation by Mustapha, who trembled during the interview, while his features exhibited the liveliest impression of terror. They were sternly rejected. "Tell the Dey," said Bourmont, in reply, "that, master of the fort of the Emperor and of all the commanding positions, I hold in my hand the fate of the city and of the Cassauba. A hundred pieces of artillery, which I have brought from France, and eighty cannons and mortars, which I

have found in the Algerine batteries, of which I am already in possession, will be sufficient to destroy, in a few hours, the Cassauba and the walls of Algiers. I consent to spare the lives of the Dey, the Turkish soldiers, and the inhabitants of the town, provided they surrender at discretion, and instantly put the French troops in possession of the gates of the city, of the Cassauba, and of all the exterior forts." Sidi Mustapha returned with these rigorous conditions, but he had scarcely been gone when two new envoys appeared. These were a Turk named Sidi Mahmoud, and a Moor called Bouderba, who, having resided for a long time at Marseilles, spoke French perfectly. The propositions of which they were the bearers differed in no degree from those which had been tendered by Sidi Mustapha, and received a similar answer. But Bouderba, less timid and more insinuating than his predecessor, represented to Bourmont, that the words "to surrender at discretion" would be misunderstood by the Turks; that they would consider them as importing a voluntary sacrifice of their persons, their families and their property; that, with this conviction, they would prefer rather to perish than submit; and that the ruin of Algiers, and the loss of the great wealth it contained, would be inevitable. Bourmont was swayed by these representations, and after some further discussion a preliminary convention was agreed upon and signed by the three envoys to the following effect:—1. That the French army should take possession of the town of Algiers, of the Cassauba, and of all the forts connected with them, as well as of public property of all kinds, on the morning of the 5th of July, at nine o'clock. 2. That the religion and the usages of the inhabitants should be respected, and that no person belonging to the French army should enter the mosques. 3. That the Dey and all the Turks should quit Algiers as soon as possible, but be at liberty to choose their place of retreat; and that the conservation of their personal property should be guaranteed. Such were the terms dictated by the conqueror. They were at once accepted by the Dey, and having been also approved by the general divan, though with more difficulty, ratifications were exchanged in the course of the evening, and the necessary arrangements made for putting the French in possession of their conquest the following day.

At the appointed hour, on the 5th July, 1830, the French troops were drawn up in order of battle under the walls of the town and the Cassauba; and at mid-day precisely the gates of Barbazoun, and Babaloued, and Fort Barbazoun were delivered up to them. The personal effects of the Dey not having been entirely removed from the Cassauba at the hour fixed by the convention, some delay occurred, and suspicions were excited; upon which a

detachment of artillery and engineers, and a battalion of the 6th regiment of the line, were sent to take immediate possession of this citadel-palace; and it was given up accordingly, though in considerable hurry and confusion.

The French were now absolute masters of Algiers. After three centuries of piracy, and many abortive attempts on the part of Christian powers to break up this formidable association of brigands, its doom was at length sealed, and Europe delivered from the most disgraceful yoke that had ever afflicted civilized nations. On this occasion, so proud for France, and so honourable for her arms, the troops proved that their discipline was equal to their valour, and by their admirable conduct in the moment of victory reflected additional lustre on their triumph. They have, indeed, been accused of indiscriminate robbery and plunder; but the official reports of the commissions of inquiry, and the unexceptionable evidence of all the foreign consuls, have triumphantly refuted this charge, and proved it to be a mere calumny. There was, no doubt, reason to dread the gravest excesses, since no civil or military authority of the country appeared to conduct the troops to the different houses and posts which they were to occupy, and the barbarities exercised by the Algerines on such of their comrades as had been made prisoners, might naturally enough have provoked retaliation on the part of the soldiery. But nothing of the kind occurred in any quarter, nor was the discipline of the troops for an instant shaken or relaxed. This much is due to truth, and to the gallant army by whom the conquest of Algiers was achieved.

The public property found by the French in Algiers was considerable, being estimated at 55,684,527 francs, or £2,227,381 sterling, viz.

In gold and silver specie	48,684,527 francs.
In wool and other commodities . .	3,000,000
In brass cannon, 700 in number .	4,000,000
Total .	55,684,527

This estimate, however, does not include 800 iron guns, nor an immense quantity of military projectiles and powder found in the city, nor the value of the real property belonging to the state, comprising the half of the houses in Algiers, and which of themselves have been valued at 50,000,000 of francs; wherefore, taking the whole expense of the expedition, both by sea and land, at 48,500,000 francs, according to the estimate of the minister at war, France must have realized by her conquest a clear gain of at least *three millions* sterling in actual property, independently

altogether of the value of the important establishment she had acquired in a naval and commercial point of view.

These details have already extended to such a length that we cannot attempt to particularize the measures subsequently adopted by the French for consolidating their power and developing the resources of this valuable colony. These have in general been conceived in a liberal spirit, and, upon the whole, seem calculated to elevate the condition of the native population, and to attach them to their conquerors. The advice given them by the unfortunate Dey, a short time before his departure, is highly characteristic, and contains hints by which they have undoubtedly profited.

"Get rid as soon as possible," said he, "of the Turkish Janissaries. Accustomed to command as masters, they will never consent to live in order and subjection. The Moors are timid, you will govern them without difficulty; but never give entire credit to what they say. The Jews established in this regency are still more pusillanimous and corrupt than those of Constantinople. Employ them, because they are very intelligent in fiscal matters, and in commerce, but never lose sight of them; keep the sword always suspended over their heads. As to the nomadic Arabs, they are not to be feared. Good treatment will attach and render them docile and devoted; persecution will make you lose them at once. They will retire with their flocks, and carry their industry into the highest mountains, even into Bled-el-jereede, or they will pass into the states of Tunis. With regard to the ferocious Kobayles, they have never loved strangers, and they detest one another. Avoid a general war with that numerous and warlike population; you will never derive any advantage from it. But adopt, with reference to them, the plan constantly followed by the Deys of Algiers; sow dissentions among them, and profit by their quarrels.

"With respect to the governors of my three provinces, whose conduct I have had much reason to be dissatisfied with in the late campaign, change them. It would be great imprudence on your part to continue them, for, as Turks and Mahommedans, they cannot but hate you. I recommend to you, in particular, to be on your guard against Abdurraman-Aga, Bey of Tittery; he is a thorough knave. He will come to offer himself; he will swear to be faithful to you; but he will betray you the first opportunity. I had resolved some time ago to cut off his head; your arrival has spared him that ceremony. The Bey of Constantine is less perfidious and less dangerous. Being an able financier, he sweats the people of his province without mercy, and pays his tribute with great punctuality; but he is without courage and without character. Men of this stamp are not suited to trying circumstances, as my sorrowful experience has just proved. The Bey of Oran is an honest man. His conduct is virtuous; his word is sacred; but being a rigid Mahommedan, he will never consent to serve you. He is beloved in

his province. Your interest requires that you should remove him from the country."*

Such were the counsels given to the French by Hussein Pasha. They do honour to his judgment; and their usefulness as well as their truth was afterwards fully recognized. In all that concerns the indigenous population, indeed, they ought to be deeply meditated by those who are called to superior command in the Algerine provinces. By neglecting the Dey's advice respecting the Kobayles, who are the descendants of the ancient Numidians, and animated by the same restless and warlike spirit, and by contriving, at the same time, to offend the chiefs of certain other powerful tribes, who, in ordinary times, are at feud with the Kobayles, Bourmont compromised the safety of the colony; exposed some detachments to severe checks, calculated to destroy the *prestige* in favour of the French arms; and ultimately found himself almost hemmed in within the immediate defences of Algiers. But the Revolution of the Three Days having placed Charles X. in a situation not more enviable than that to which he had reduced his friend the Dey, Bourmont fell with his master, and was succeeded by Count Clausel, a man equally celebrated for his military genius, and respected for the consistency and integrity of his political life. It was he who saved the French army from destruction after the battle of Salamanca, conducting the retreat with such consummate ability and skill as to defeat all the combinations of his great adversary, and to elicit the admiration of every officer in the British army. It was he, who, after the battle of Vittoria and the total rout of the French army, found himself so deeply compromised that his corps had penetrated

* Striking as these observations unquestionably are, the author of them is nevertheless still three parts a barbarian. In familiar conversation with some French officers, and amongst others with the author of the work before us, who went to visit him before his departure, he remarked, "that he felt he had committed a great error in drawing upon himself the resentment of a power like France; but that, being naturally irascible and obstinate, he had flattered himself that he might without fear give scope to these dangerous passions, particularly when he observed the base intrigues and abject servility of the consular agents of the European powers, and, above all, of the French consul, Duval. "I take blame to myself," added he, speaking of this person, "for not having made him expiate by the halter his falsehood, his baseness, and his criminal manœuvres, which have caused my ruin. If I had chopped off his head or strangled him, I should not have been worse than I now am, since I have lost my throne, and life is of little moment to me; I would have had the satisfaction of being avenged." This is the language of a genuine Turk. At the same time, though severe in his judgment, Hussein was never considered as cruel, at least in Algiers. Living by rapacity, like his predecessors, he had been more moderate than they in the employment of the tyrannical means which the Deys of Algiers had been accustomed to resort to in order to satisfy their cupidity. But although less hated than Ali, to whom he had succeeded, he would not have escaped the tragical fate of most of the Deys of Algiers, if he had not doomed himself to remain a sort of prisoner in his inaccessible citadel, the Cassauba.

almost into the midst of the British divisions, yet, by a series of bold and skilful manœuvres, succeeded in eluding the efforts made to surround him, and carried his corps into France without the loss of a gun, Nor were these his only merits, or his only claims to the respect and attachment of the French army. He had never betrayed his colours like Bourmont, nor ceased to proclaim his gratitude, affection, and admiration of that wonderful man under whom he had often marched to victory, and whose achievements will ever form the most brilliant section in the military story of France. Brave, consistent, honourable, respected even by those who detested his principles and former connections, and beloved by the troops as their ancient companion in arms, Count Clausel no sooner assumed the command in Algiers than affairs took a new turn. The moral force of the army was raised, and its activity and energy greatly increased. By his prompt and vigorous measures some refractory chiefs were put down; by his honest, frank, and straightforward conduct the greater number were conciliated and attached to their new masters. The force and uprightness of his character insured respect and confidence; by the wise and liberal measures which he adopted all interests were equally protected and encouraged; and before he had been many months in command he was in complete and tranquil possession of the three fine provinces of Algiers.

In consequence, we believe, of some differences with the present ministry, this able and upright officer has recently been replaced in the command by a man of still greater, but of less honourable, celebrity, we mean Savary, Duke of Rovigo. Along with him a civil intendant has been sent out; and instructions have been given to organize a definitive scheme of colonization in the late Regency.

III. We should now have proceeded to lay before our readers some particulars of the physical, moral, and political situation of this portion of Africa, with a view to the right understanding of the question of colonization, about which so much has already been written and so great uneasiness expressed, particularly in this country. But as we have already exceeded our allotted space, we must defer entering into details, and content ourselves with a few general observations, more especially as an occasion will probably soon present itself for discussing the subject at length.

That France has made a valuable acquisition, and obtained in consequence an important naval station in the Mediterranean, is certain; the success of her arms has secured her these advantages. But still we cannot see what right any other nation has to complain of her good fortune in this respect. The war was not of her seeking; it was forced upon her for the vindication of her

honour and dignity as a nation, which had been grossly outraged in the person of her representative, and by aggressions on her subjects and establishments in Africa; nor did she make an appeal to arms until every other means of settling the dispute had been tried in vain, until her national character had even suffered by the frequency and urgency of her attempts at amicable accommodation, and until her forbearance had excited the contempt of the barbarous power, which ultimately became the victim of its own blindfold temerity. The cause of war upon her part was, therefore, a just one. This cannot possibly be controverted; from the statements we have already given, it is as clear as noon day that she had no alternative left but war or degradation in the eyes of all Europe. But if France had a just cause of war, and was literally compelled to resort to arms, all that followed from such a contest, waged according to the law of nations and the ordinary rules of civilized warfare, must also be in accordance with justice, and her conquest as legitimate as the motives and principles which called her into the field. This seems undeniable.

Besides, it is matter of history that such an expedition as that which France ultimately undertook, had been once and again contemplated by the great powers of Europe, particularly at the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle; that the principle of such an attack had been solemnly recognised, although from motives of temporary expediency, or other causes, its execution had been deferred; and that France had always been looked to as a power, which, from her geographical and political situation, was most immediately interested in putting an end to the piratical depredations of the Barbary states, and abating the intolerable evil of Christian slavery. In reasoning thus, however, we are proceeding upon the supposition that the state of Algiers was strictly within the pale of civil and social relations, and that the same principles which would regulate our judgment respecting any other state or nation, are applicable to it. But we apprehend that we might safely go much farther than this, and maintain that, as an association of brigands continually at war with the people of all Christian states, and inveterately addicted to practices which by the law of nations stamp the perpetrators as *hostes humani generis*, to be exterminated without mercy wherever they are to be met with, any Christian state had a clear right to employ its power and means at any time for subverting such a confederacy of outlaws, and, in the event of success, to exercise the known and recognised privileges of conquest.

But it has been said that France has been unduly aggrandized by her acquisition, that she has obtained an important naval station in an advanced position in the Mediterranean, and that the

consequences may prove detrimental to our commerce and maritime superiority in that sea. We cannot, however, recognise the validity of such allegations, except as indications of national jealousy. Is not our possession of Malta, which we hold by exactly the same title as the French do that of Algiers, namely, the right of the strongest, open to precisely the same objection on the part of France? Did not Napoleon, in 1803, urge that objection? And did we not go to war again with France in order to refute it? If the colonial aggrandizement of one nation were to be held as furnishing another with any just ground of complaint or interposition, in what situation would Great Britain be placed by the recognition of such a doctrine? Having added empire to empire and kingdom to kingdom, until a hundred and fifty millions of men have submitted to her sway in different quarters of the globe, is it for this country to maintain that colonial aggrandisement affords any just title to one nation for complaining of or interfering with the affairs of another? What advantage can Britain possibly take by admitting a principle so novel and extraordinary into the code of international law? And if it were so admitted, within what limits is it to be circumscribed, or how is it in any case to be applied?

Waiving this, however, and coming at once to the question of colonization, we say that all civilized nations have a direct interest in the spread of civilization; and that this interest is greatest in the case of those nations which are most exclusively commercial. We cannot stop at present to illustrate our position, nor is it perhaps necessary that we should, for to us we must confess it seems almost self-evident. But Africa can never civilize itself; it must first be colonized, and a focus or centre established whence civilization may radiate, as it were, to the different inhabited or habitable parts of that great continent. Little does it signify by whom this is done, provided it be done, in a situation favourable to the diffusion of the knowledge and arts of civilized life. Now, Algiers, under the occupation of the French, seems to answer all these conditions; and possessing in itself resources capable of prodigious developement, it is also in contact with nearly all the principal tribes which predominate over the African continent, and consequently may well become the parent of that civilization which, we hope, is destined to penetrate even to its deepest recesses. Much has been anticipated from the recent discovery of the termination of the Niger, which, it is confidently affirmed, will open an inlet for European industry and civilization even to the heart of Africa. But from all that we have yet read or heard, we are inclined to suspect that these anticipations will be disappointed. The rivers of Africa are not like those of America, mighty channels by which the remotest regions of the continent

may be reached at all seasons of the year. On the contrary, during one period of the year they are nearly dry, and their courses appear to be so much interrupted by physical obstacles that, even when in flood, the navigation must ever be difficult, precarious, and confined. It is by land, and not by water communication, therefore, that industry and civilization must, we suspect, find their way into central Africa; and it is under this conviction that we look with peculiar favour on the definitive establishment of a French colony in the regency of Algiers.

ART. VII.—*Nouvelle Théorie de l'Action Capillaire; par* S. D. Poisson. Paris, 1831. 4to.

THE work which we have at present the pleasure of announcing to our readers, is the production of one of the most distinguished mathematicians of the age, and treats of a subject which, though hitherto involved in much obscurity, deserves to be considered as one of the most important in the whole range of physical science. The mutual action of the elementary particles of matter, of which capillarity is a noted instance, gives rise to phenomena as interesting, and in certain cases as susceptible of being attached to theory by rigorous mathematical reasoning, as the phenomena of universal gravitation.

The ascent of liquids in capillary tubes engaged much of the attention of experimental philosophers about the beginning of the last century; yet, if we except two important facts which resulted from the experiments of the ingenious Mr. Hauksbee, their investigations afforded no data sufficiently precise to form the basis of a theory. Hauksbee found that the ascent of the liquid does not depend in any way on the thickness of the tube, and that when two plates, forming any small angle with each other, are plunged vertically into a fluid, the fluid which rises between them takes the form of an equilateral hyperbola, from which it followed that in tubes of the same matter the ascent of the liquid follows the inverse ratio of their interior diameters. In order to explain these facts, all succeeding philosophers seem to have agreed in assuming the existence of a cohesive force among the particles of the liquid, and an adhesive force between the particles of the liquid and those of the tube. But these attractive forces can only be defined by their relative intensities at an equal distance, and the law according to which they diminish as the distance is increased. Now there are no data from which either their relative intensities or the law of their variation can be determined; we are, therefore, reduced to choose among a number of hypothetical laws all equally

possible; and the explanation, of course, depends on the particular hypothesis we adopt. Hence the theories of Jurin, Clairaut, Segner, Young, Laplace, and, lastly, of Poisson.

Of the theory of Jurin, who ascribed the ascent of the liquid to the attraction of the ring of the tube immediately above it, it is unnecessary to say any thing, as it has been repeatedly refuted, and has had no influence whatever in modifying those which have taken its place. Clairaut was the first who attempted to reduce the phenomena of capillarity to the laws of the equilibrium of fluids, and exactly analyzed all the forces that concur to elevate the liquid in a glass tube. He showed that the portion of the liquid which is elevated in the tube above the exterior level, is kept in equilibrium by the action of two forces, one of which is due to the attraction of the meniscus terminating the column, and the other to the direct attraction of the tube on the molecules of the liquid. Clairaut, however, regarded this last force as the principal one, and even supposed the attraction of the tube to extend as far as its axis; but this supposition is altogether contrary to the nature of molecular forces, which extend only to insensible distances. The action of the tube has in fact no influence whatever on the elevation or depression of the contained liquid, excepting in so far as it determines the angle under which the upper surface of the fluid intersects the sides of the tube. Neglecting, therefore, this force as insensible, there remains only the action of the meniscus to support the weight of the elevated column. But though Clairaut made an erroneous supposition respecting the nature of molecular action, and failed in the attempt to demonstrate from theory that the ascent of the liquid is inversely proportional to the diameter of the tube, he showed that a number of hypotheses, regarding the law of attraction, may be laid down, from any one of which that law of ascent may be deduced; and he demonstrated a very remarkable result, namely, that if the attraction of the matter of the tube on the fluid differs only by its intensity, or co-efficient, from the attraction of the fluid on itself, the fluid will rise above the surrounding level when the first of these intensities exceeds half the second.

The action of the superficial molecules of the liquid on the suspended column, was pointed out about the year 1751 by Segner, who regarded the surface of the meniscus as an elastic surface acting by its tension, and supposed the attractive force of the molecules to become insensible at sensible distances. In reasoning, however, from these premises, he committed several mistakes, and arrived at consequences plainly at variance with the phenomena. Dr. Young, in a paper on the *Cohesion of Fluids*, published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1805,

viewed the subject in nearly the same light as Segner, but pursued it to a greater length, and with much better success. This philosopher referred the phenomena of cohesion to the joint operation of attractive and repulsive forces, which in the interior of fluids exactly balance each other, and assumed the repulsive force to increase in a higher ratio than the attractive, when the mutual distances of the molecules are diminished. From these considerations he was led to discover a very important fact in the theory of capillary action, namely, the invariability of the angle which the surface of the fluid makes with the sides of the tube; and he also perceived the necessity of having regard to the double curvature of the meniscus, the action of which had been supposed by Segner to depend solely on the curvature of a vertical section.

Laplace published his theory of capillary attraction in 1806 and 1807, in two Supplements to the *Mécanique Céleste*. Assuming the force of molecular action to extend only to imperceptible distances, he demonstrated that the form of the surface of the liquid is a principal cause of the capillary phenomena, and not a secondary effect; and determined the part of the phenomena which is due to the cohesive attraction of the molecules of the fluid to each other, as well as that which results from their adhesion to the molecules of the tube. The separate consideration of the cohesive and adhesive forces leads to two equations which comprehend the whole theory of capillarity; a general equation common to all those points of the capillary surface of which the distance from the sides of the tube is greater than the radius of the sphere of molecular action; and a particular equation belonging to those points which are situated only at insensible distances from the surface of the tube, or are within the sphere of its action. This last equation will obviously express the angle which the surface of the meniscus makes with the sides of the tube; an angle which, as it depends only on the nature of the tube and that of the liquid, is constant and given in every case, the liquid and tube being supposed homogeneous. Laplace further supposes, in the case of elevation, that an infinitely thin film of the liquid first attaches itself to the sides of the tube, and thus forms an interior tube, which acts by its attraction alone to raise the column, and maintain it at a determinate height. The height of the column consequently depends on the cohesion and density of the liquid.

The theory of Laplace was keenly attacked by Dr. Young, of whose previous researches and analogous results Laplace had made no mention whatever. Of all the objections, however, which he brought forward, there are only two which can be considered as of much importance. One of them is, that Laplace

neglected the modifying influence of heat in the computation of the molecular forces, and the other regards the case of the superposition of two or more fluids in the same capillary tube. No doubt can exist as to the necessity of having regard to the calorific repulsion, but no additional formulæ are required in order to compute its influence; nor is it even necessary to regard it as a separate force. In estimating the mutual action of two molecules, we have only to consider the excess of the attraction of the ponderable matter above the repulsion of the heat, and consequently to regard the function expressing that excess as a quantity which may change its sign, or pass from positive to negative, within the limits of its sensible values. But there is a physical circumstance of not less importance to the theory, which was entirely overlooked by Laplace, and of which no notice was taken by any one till it was pointed out by Poisson, in an article on the equilibrium of fluids, published in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, tom. ix. This is the rapid diminution of density which takes place near the free surface of the liquid, and near the sides of the tube. In order to obtain a more distinct idea of the effect in question, let us conceive an infinitely thin stratum or pellicle of the liquid (which we shall call A) to be isolated, and then consider the compressing forces which it sustains. In the interior of the liquid the two faces of A are equally compressed by the action of the contiguous molecules, which action is proportional to the excess of the repulsive above the attractive forces. Now the only molecules of the liquid which can act on A, are those which form, on each side of it, a stratum of which the thickness is equal to the radius of the sphere of molecular action. Hence, every other stratum of the liquid at a sensible distance from the surface, sustains exactly the same compression as A; and, therefore, the density is equal throughout, abstracting from the small effect produced by the action of gravity. But when the distance of A from the surface of the liquid is less than the radius of molecular action, it is evident that the number of molecules acting on its exterior face is diminished, and, consequently, the pressure on that face no longer balances the pressure on the other. The pressure on the exterior face of A diminishes very rapidly as the distance from the surface is diminished; at the surface it vanishes altogether. Hence the density of the liquid, near the surface, diminishes very rapidly according to an unknown law, and at the surface is altogether different from what it is at a depth exceeding by the smallest possible quantity the radius of the sphere of molecular action. Now this circumstance, though hitherto entirely neglected, is most essential to the theory of capillarity; indeed it is demon-

strated by Poisson, in the work before us, that if the diminution of density near the superficial parts of the liquid did not take place, the surface would remain plane and horizontal, and there could neither be elevation nor depression in the capillary tube. It therefore follows that the molecular forces which produce the capillary phenomena, are modified not only by the curvature of the surface, but also by the particular state of liquids at their surfaces.

With this addition to the physical data of the question, Poisson has re-investigated the whole theory of capillary attraction, and treated it with a perspicuity and elegance worthy of his great reputation as a mathematician. Taking the most general case of the problem, he considers not merely the surface of a single liquid, but the surface formed by the contact of two liquids of different specific gravities, placed, the one above the other, in the same tube, and deduces the two equations which determine the form of the separating surface and the angle under which it intersects the sides of the tube. These equations are in form the same as those of Laplace; but the definite integrals which express the two constant quantities they include are very different, and their numerical values would be so likewise, if these, instead of being determined experimentally, could be calculated *a priori* from the analytical expressions. This, however, cannot be done without a knowledge of the law according to which the molecules of the liquid attract each other, as well as of that which regulates the action of the tube on the liquid. In applying his general solution to the explanation of the principal phenomena of capillarity, he has taken occasion to correct some inaccuracies, and clear up many obscurities which still continued to disfigure the theory of Laplace. For instance, Laplace had found that when a thin plate is partly plunged into a liquid vertically, the pressure sustained by its two parallel faces is not equal, if one of them has been previously wetted by the liquid, or is of a different matter from the other. In consequence of this unequal pressure, an isolated body floating on the surface of a liquid would assume a perpetual horizontal motion, a circumstance which was urged by Dr. Young as an absurd consequence of the theory. In Poisson's theory this objection is obviated, for the horizontal forces acting on the sides of the body are shown to be equal, whether the sides be of the same or a different nature, and consequently the body can assume no motion of translation along the surface of the fluid. Again, the demonstration which Laplace had given of the invariability of the angle which the surface of the liquid makes with the sides of the tube, was not altogether satisfactory; and he had even supposed that it

changes its value when the liquid reaches the summit of the tube. Poisson has demonstrated that the invariability of this angle will always be preserved unless the curvature of the interior of the tube is infinitely great; or, in other words, unless its radius is infinitely small, and of the same order of magnitude as the radius of the sphere of molecular action. Hence the angle cannot vary when the liquid reaches the summit of the tube; for, however small the radius of the tube may be, it is always incomparably greater than the radius of the sphere of molecular action. This property of the angle has also been demonstrated by Gauss, in a recent work on the theory of the equilibrium of fluids.

In a few notes placed at the end of the volume, M. Poisson has entered into some very interesting developements relative to the structure of bodies, and other particulars connected with the theory of molecular action. In fact, the great importance of this theory in physical science is becoming daily more apparent, and it must soon form the principal basis of rational mechanics, which has too long continued an abstract science, founded not on a real but an imaginary state of bodies. The gradual progress of discovery renders it more and more probable that there are only two laws according to which all the forces of nature decrease, the first being proportional to the inverse square of the distance, and the second to a function of the distance of which we know nothing, except that it vanishes altogether when the distance has a sensible magnitude. The gravitation of the great bodies of the universe, the electric and magnetic forces, whether attractive or repulsive, are instances of the former; while the vibrations of elastic bodies, the communication of motion whether by shock or by pressure, as well as capillary attraction, the refraction of light, and chemical actions, depend on the latter, which is the law of the molecular forces. Now it is from this last class of forces that the laws of equilibrium and motion ought to be deduced, and not from hypotheses entirely gratuitous respecting the absolute hardness, rigidity and incompressibility of bodies—qualities which have no existence in nature. The only obstacle to the attainment of this desirable result seems to be the difficulties of the calculus. It is indeed impossible to deduce the laws of motion from the action of molecular forces in any other manner than by the application of a very refined and difficult analysis; yet the subject presents some facilities, and there are considerations which go far to obviate the mathematical difficulties. For example, in deducing the equations of equilibrium of solid and liquid bodies, it is not necessary to compute the total force acting on an isolated molecule. These equations depend on the resultant of actions which take

place between two portions of the same body, of insensible magnitude, but comprising each an extremely great number of molecules. The resultant of the aggregate forces of the different molecules comprehended within the sphere of action of an individual molecule is therefore a determinate function of their mean distance, and independent of any irregularity in their distribution. The same resultant is also independent of the magnitude of the radius of the sphere of action, which cannot be determined in any precise manner, and with respect to which we only know that it is insensible. It is on these hypotheses that the computation of molecular forces is essentially founded.

M. Poisson's last note refers to the curious phenomenon to which its discoverer, Dutrochet, has given the name of *endosmose*, and which has already been the subject of two Articles in the first and eleventh numbers of this Review. The phenomenon consists in this, that if two liquids of different natures, as water and alcohol, be separated by a thin membrane, or in general, by any porous substance, organic or inorganic, one of them will pass through the separating membrane and mingle with the other, till the level of the last gradually acquires a considerable elevation. Dutrochet ascribed the cause of this phenomenon to the establishment of an electric current between the two fluids—an explanation which it would be extremely difficult either to prove or disprove by any direct means. But the phenomenon is never accompanied by the feeblest signs of electric or galvanic action; and the principal condition essential to its production is the heterogeneity of the two liquids, or their possessing different properties in regard to capillarity. M. Poisson had formerly ascribed the phenomenon in question to the capillary attraction of the pores of the separating membrane. In the present note he endeavours to show that none of the peculiarities observed by Dutrochet are incompatible with this theory, and that, therefore, it is unnecessary to have recourse to the agency of any other forces for their explanation. The phenomenon is, however, still involved in considerable obscurity.

ART. VIII.—1. *Statistica della Svizzera*, di Stefano Franscini. 8vo. Lugano. 1827.

2. *Della riforma della Costituzione Ticinese.* Zurigo. 1829.

3. *Ostervazioni del Dott.* Michele Roggia *sopra la riforma della Costituzione del Cantone Ticino.* Lugano. 1830.

4. *Memoire historique sur la Constitution du 4 Aout*, 1814, *presenté par le Conseil d'Etat au Grand Conseil du Canton de Vaud.* 1830.

5. *Memoires de* Henri Monod, ancien Conseiller d'Etat et Membre du grand Conseil du Canton de Vaud. Paris. 1805.

6. *Le dixhuit Decembre*, 1830, *et ses causes*, par Louis Pellis, Docteur en droit. Lausanne. 1831.

7. *Les Balois à leurs confederés.* Bâle, Fevrier. 1831.

8. *Der systematische Tod oder die lezten Lebensjahre der Regierung von* 1814, *ein Blatt zur Geschichte des Cantons Luzern.* Altdorf. 1831.

9. *Neue Züricher Zeitung.* 1831. Zurich. Orell, Füssli et Co.

10. *Le Nouvelliste Vaudois.* Lausanne. 1830-1.

11. Dandolo, *Lettere sulla Svizzera, Orientale ed Occidentale.* Milano. 1829-30. 3 vol. 18mo.

12. *Examen des causes qui ont amené la dernière révolution à Neufchatel (Suisse); suivi de réflexions sur la conduite du proconsul Prussien de Pfuel et de ses adhérens.* Par C. E. Fauche, ex-officier au service Britannique. Paris, Décembre, 1831. 8vo.

THE ancient confederation of Switzerland, such as it existed for ages until the French invasion of 1798, exhibited a motley assemblage of almost all the forms of government under which a commonwealth can be administered. Of the thirteen old cantons,* some were pure democracies, with general comitia of the whole male population; others were municipal republics, in which the burghers of the chief towns alone returned members to the legislature; in some, such as Bern, Friburg, &c. a certain number of patrician families held the supreme power in their hands, and constituted aristocracies, like that of Venice. Besides these, there were the allies of the cantons, independent little states,—either republics, as Geneva, St. Gall, the Valais and the Grisons,—or ecclesiastical principalities, such as the bishopric of

* The three first cantons were Schwytz, Uri, and Unterwalden, who asserted their independence in 1307, and who are called the Waldstätten, or forest districts. Luzern joined them in 1332, Zurich in 1351, Glarus and Zug in 1352, and Bern in 1353. After more than a century Freyburg and Solothurn (*gallice*, Soleure) were added in 1481, Basle and Schaffhausen in 1501, and Appenzell in 1513. Thus the league of the thirteen cantons was formed.

Basle, the dominions of the Abbot of St. Gall, the abbacy of Engelberg, &c. and lastly, the state of Neuchatel, whose prince was the King of Prussia. These were bound by alliance either with part or the whole of the cantons, and some of them sent deputies to the federal diet. And finally, there were countries, subject either to the cantons or to their allies, districts which had been conquered or purchased from their former feudal lords, such as Thurgau, Aargau, Toggenburg, the county of Baden; or from the Dukes of Milan and of Savoy, such as the Valteline, the Italian *bailliages*, and the Pays de Vaud. The inhabitants of these countries had no political rights; they were vassals under the absolute sway of their republican masters, who sent *baillis*, or governors, to rule over them, and generally to enrich themselves. The most democratic cantons were the most arbitrary in their treatment of their subjects. "Like all people-kings," says the impartial Muller, "they showed themselves selfish, harsh, and haughty." The whole population of Switzerland, in the last century, may be reckoned as follows:—13 cantons, one million; allies, half a million; subjects, about three hundred thousand.

After the wars which the Swiss gloriously sustained for their independence against Austria, Burgundy and France, came the wars of religion among themselves, and the wars of the peasants against the towns, of subjects against their masters, until the peace of Aarau in 1712 put an end to these lamentable dissensions among the Confederates. Eighty-six years of peace foreign and domestic followed, and it is to this period that the descriptions we have been accustomed to read, and the early and often exaggerated notions many of us have entertained of Swiss happiness, Swiss simplicity, and Swiss hospitality refer; they were taken from the accounts of travellers of the last century, who represented Switzerland as a sort of Elysium. And in truth, when compared with surrounding nations, the Swiss may be said to have enjoyed an enviable degree of happiness and freedom. They had so well established their character for intrepidity and patriotism, that no foreign power showed the least inclination to interfere with their independence, and they were treated with deference by the most powerful monarchs. Their internal administration assumed different forms, as we have observed, in each of the various states; yet the general appearance of society bore the impress of contentment, peace, and thriving industry. Catholics and Protestants lived together in happy cordiality. The liberty of Switzerland was that of the middle ages, in which it had originated; it was the liberty of municipalities and corporations, rather than of individuals. Excepting the democratic cantons, where every man is a legislator, the country people were ruled by the towns, and as they

had no voice in the public affairs, no share of the public offices, and but scanty means of instruction, they remained ignorant and depressed. It is true that the governments of the towns were generally conducted on equitable principles. Zschokke himself renders them this justice:

"They acted like scrupulous guardians. The magistrates, even the highest among them, received but small salaries; fortunes were made only in foreign service or in the *bailliages* of subject districts. The public administration was conducted with order and economy; taxes were few and light. Although the laws were defective and trials secret, the love of justice prevailed in the country; power wisely respected the rights of the humblest freeman. In the principal towns, especially the Protestant ones, wealth fostered science and the fine arts. Zurich and Geneva distinguished themselves in this particular. Bern opened fine roads, raised public buildings, fostered agriculture in its fine territory, and yet contrived to hoard considerable sums in its treasury.* . . . . But the old patriotism of the Swiss slumbered, it was replaced by selfishness, the various states remained estranged from each other, the military art, as a means of national defence, was neglected. . . . . Switzerland presented to strangers the aspect of an earthly paradise inhabited by happy and peaceful men, but strangers saw only the fine verdure of the plains, and not the inhospitable rocks behind; the majestic grandeur of the Alps, and not the ravages of the avalanches. They admired the pomp of our diets, without suspecting the discord that reigned therein; they beheld the trophies of William Tell, without perceiving the degradation in the cabin of the peasant; they saw instruction spread in the towns, without observing the coarseness and barbarism of the country. Glorious names and lofty pretensions served only to conceal narrow views and mean actions."—*History of the Swiss Nation, c.* 53.

The Swiss rested in fancied security, when the hurricane of the French revolution overtook them unawares and unprepared. The French proclaimed not only *liberty*, but also *equality*, a word which ever sounds attractive to the multitude, and they found numerous disciples in Switzerland. And subsequently the only effective opposition the French met with was from the peasants and shepherds of the little cantons, men all equal and free in the fullest possible acceptation of the word, who could not comprehend the meaning or the use of any other liberty but that which was to them the heir-loom of ages. But on the other hand the flame of revolution found among the *subjects* of the Swiss, materials ready for combustion. It first broke out in the states of the Bishop of Basle, between the bishop and his people; Austrian troops came to support the former and French troops to assist the latter, and the result was that the bishop was obliged to run

* When the French entered Bern in 1798, they found near seventy millions of francs in the treasury.

away, and a mock republic was set up, under the classical name of *Rauracia*, which, after a few months existence, was merged into the great French republic "one and indivisible" in 1798. Shortly after, at the other extremity of Switzerland, the Valteline, a district on the Italian side of the Alps, and subject to the Grisons, revolted against its masters, applied for protection to General Bonaparte, who then commanded the French armies in Lombardy, and was finally annexed to the new Cisalpine republic. The Pays de Vaud rose next, and gave the final blow to the old Swiss confederation. Vaud revolted against Bern, the French entered the country to protect the insurgents, an affray took place between the French and Bernese outposts, which afforded a pretext to pour the French armies into the heart of Switzerland; they summarily demanded the resignation of the cantonal governments. Soleure was taken and plundered, and, after a gallant though useless resistance, by a chosen band of Bernese under the walls of their town, Bern was taken, and the rest of Switzerland submitted to the conquerors. The little democratic cantons alone made a desperate stand against two successive attacks; there thousands of brave men and women met at the hands of the invaders with the only equality the latter could bestow on them, the equality of the grave. All the Swiss, rulers and ruled, townsmen and countrymen, masters and subjects, were made equally wretched. The country was given up to the tender mercies of the agents of the Directory. Years of unparalleled calamities, of foreign and civil wars, of invasions by French, Austrians, and Russians, years of blood, misery and shame, passed over the devastated regions of Switzerland. A semblance of central government was set up in servile imitation of the French Directory; it was driven away by the Austrians and the insurgents; revolts succeeded revolts, until at last Bonaparte, having become first consul of France, and having made peace with the rest of Europe, turned his attention towards Switzerland. Of the misfortunes of that country his hands were guiltless, and he was understood to have reprobated the unprincipled aggression perpetrated by his predecessors. Indeed the Swiss war had been from the first unpopular in France, and was stigmatized by the appellation of *la guerre impie*. The Swiss, weary of their dissensions, referred them to Bonaparte's arbitration; and deputies from the various Swiss states and municipalities repaired to Paris. He listened to all, made himself acquainted with their respective claims,* and at last, in February,

* The smaller districts of Switzerland aspired to become separate cantons. This disposition to subdivision, the very reverse of the French system of centralization, is characteristic of Switzerland. At the period we are speaking of, the Emmenthal, a fertile valley of the Bernese territory, sent a substantial farmer, named Kunz, as its deputy

1803, he gave out his plan for the future constitution of Switzerland. The union of Switzerland into one single republic, which had been enforced by the Directory, was discarded, as incompatible with the habits and character of the various populations. Switzerland was to constitute, as heretofore, a confederacy, the number of cantons being raised to nineteen; the six new ones to be formed out of the former allies and subjects of the Swiss, namely, the Grisons, St. Gall, including the territories of the abbot, Aargau, Thurgau, Vaud, and Ticino. This last canton comprised the Italian bailliages of Lugano, Lovarno, Bellinzona, &c. south of the Alps. The Valteline, however, remained annexed to the Italian republic. Geneva and the bishopric of Basle, having been incorporated with France, were not restored, and the Valais, another ally of the former federation, was set up as a separate republic under the immediate protection of France, and this for the sake of the military road which was then being opened over the Simplon to Italy. "Thus," observes Zschokke, "Bonaparte gave us a lesson to settle in future our differences among ourselves, without having recourse to a mediator." In other respects, the provisions of Bonaparte's mediation were liberal.

The cantons were to have no more subjects, towns and families no more exclusive privileges; all the Swiss were declared equal in political rights, and in the free exercise of their industry in any part of the confederation in which they chose to settle. The general interests of the whole country were entrusted to a diet of deputies from all the cantons, presided by the chief magistrate of the town where it was assembled for the time being. The diet was to meet once every year, and to sit by turns in each of the towns of Bern, Fribourg, Soleure, Basle, Zurich, and Luzern. Every canton was to have its own constitution, on the principle of equality of rights, and on the system of direct representation, with

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to the meeting at Paris. After Bonaparte had consulted with the principal leaders, he appointed a day for a general muster of all the deputies at the Tuileries. Kunz was among the rest in his native costume, and as his turn came, Bonaparte asked him whether he agreed for his constituents to the proposed mediation. Kunz, who spoke a little French, answered in the affirmative, with the condition that the Emmenthal should form a separate canton! "But," inquired the first consul, "tell me where do you go and purchase the objects you want, such as for instance the fine cloth for your wives' and daughters' bodices?"—"We go to Bêrn," replied Kunz, in the broad accent of his country. "And where do you sell the surplus of the produce of your fields, your cheese, cattle, &c.?"—"At Bêrn," replied Kunz.—"Well then," observed Bonaparte, "Bern ought to be your *chef-lieu*. . . . And what does your country chiefly produce?" continued he, after a moment's pause. Kunz, thinking of the fat beeves, which constituted the principal riches of the Emmenthal, replied: "*Il produit des bêtes!*" Bonaparte at this could not preserve his gravity, but gave way to a hearty laugh, with which all present sympathized. Kunz returned to his native valley, where he afterwards went by the name of *Parisian Kunz*, and he used often to boast that "he had made *Bonebarti* laugh!"

certain qualifications of property. The peculiar institutions of the old democratic cantons, however, were not interfered with. Bonaparte observed to certain advocates of *uniformity*, that it would be unwise to meddle with the traditional customs of that simple race of men; that the small forest cantons had been the cradle of Swiss liberty; that they constituted even now the principal title of Switzerland to the sympathy of Europe. "Destroy those free primitive commonwealths," added he, "the monument of five centuries, and you destroy your historical associations; you become a mere common people, with no claim for escaping the whirlpool of European politics." Thus did Bonaparte fulfil his mediation, perhaps the most liberal enactment of his life. The act was sworn to by all the cantons, and remained in force for ten years, till the fall of the mediator himself. During this period, Switzerland, surrounded by immense armies, and amidst the din of battle and the crash of falling empires, remained in profound tranquillity. No foreign soldier stepped over its peaceful boundaries. This was of itself no inconsiderable boon, which the Swiss owed to Napoleon's mediation. The commerce of Switzerland, it is true, was shackled, like that of the other continental states, by Napoleon's antisocial system; yet Swiss industry, no longer cramped by the monopoly of trades and corporations, contrived to prosper, manufactures spread even on the slopes of the Alps, and the great canal of the Linth, a truly national work, which unites the lakes of Zurich and of Wallenstadt, was constructed by private subscription. The Swiss were exempt from the inhuman code of the conscription, although bound by the act to keep always an effective corps of sixteen thousand men in the French service, as they had done in the time of the French kings; the destructive wars of Napoleon, however, rendered the recruiting for this body more onerous than in the former period. The clear sighted and thoughtful among Swiss patriots too could not help reflecting with anxious feelings, that the independence of Switzerland depended upon the *fiat* of one man, who had shown himself to be remorselessly ambitious, and at each gigantic step he took towards the attainment of universal dominion, they trembled for the fate of their own country. But these men were few, the many were satisfied with the present. The new cantons, which had been raised from a state of vassalage to that of independence, naturally felt more strongly than the rest the benefits of the new order of things, hence that sympathy which has existed ever since between the people of these states and the French people, whom they consider as the authors of their emancipation. In the old cantons the feeling was somewhat different, especially in the towns, and among those

classes which had by the change lost influence, patronage, or emolument.

When towards the close of 1813, Napoleon was driven back to France and the allied armies advanced within sight of the Swiss frontiers, agitation was again at work in Switzerland. It was evident that she could not remain an unconcerned party in the great struggle. Accordingly, as early as the 20th of December of that year, it was signified to the diet, by a note from MM. Lebzeltern and Capo d'Istria, the ministers of Austria and Russia, that the act of mediation, having been the work of foreign influence, of an influence inimical to the rest of Europe, was incompatible with the principles of the great European confederation, and that the allied powers, without pretending to interfere in the internal affairs of Switzerland, could not allow that country to remain under the tutelage of the French emperor. And it was about the same time that the Austrian troops crossed the Rhine, and marched through the western parts of Switzerland on their way to the south of France. Much has been said about this violation of the Swiss *neutrality*, as it was called. But it ought to be remembered that the war had then assumed a character which had no precedent in modern history, at least since the time of the Reformation. It was a war of all nations struggling for their independence, for their existence, against a military despotism of the worst kind. The Germans, the Russians, the Dutch, the Spaniards, nay, even the Italians, would submit no longer to be dragooned, and plundered, and insulted in their own homes by the cosmopolite myrmidons of a foreign chief. It was not, as some have artfully attempted to represent it, a war of the old aristocracies against the liberties of mankind, for the *people* of all the above mentioned countries were at that time hearty in the struggle, and they even urged their sovereigns and as it were carried them along with them in the contest. The feeling was general, except among those who were in the service of Napoleon. If the people have been since disappointed in their expectations, if the sovereigns have not fulfilled their promises, that is a subsequent question between the parties concerned, which cannot alter the nature of the national movement of 1813-14. Switzerland was perhaps the country that had the least reason to complain of Napoleon; it was under his guardianship, and if it chose to side with him, it had a right so to do, but by so doing it would put itself in hostility towards all the rest of Europe. Neutrality was out of the question in such a conflict, a conflict of nations against one man, not of sovereigns and their hired armies alone. Had the Swiss opposed the passage of the allied troops, they must have declared themselves for Napoleon and taken their

chance. Switzerland was not required to assist in the attack against him; but at the same time she was not allowed to remain as a work of defence on his frontiers, as an obstacle in the way of the emancipation of Europe. But there were men in Switzerland, as elsewhere, who, amidst the soul-stirring scene, thought of nothing but their own private interests and selfish views. These men fancied the favourable moment had arrived. The towns and cantons which had once possessed privileges and authoritiy over the country resumed them, and the people were overawed by the supposition that such was the will of the Allies. Bern, Friburg, Soleure, and Luzern effected a change in their administration in favour of aristocracy. They then began to threaten their former subjects, and especially those of Vaud and Aargau, to the loss of which fine countries the Bernese had never been reconciled. But here they were disappointed. Nine of the old cantons, with Zurich at their head, perceiving the danger, assembled in the latter town, and on the 29th of December, 1813, declared the act of mediation to have become extinct, at the same time acknowledging the integrity and independence of the nineteen cantons, and inviting them all, old and new, to send deputies, in order to constitute a new federal pact. The invitation was acceded to, except by Bern, Friburg, and Soleure, who demanded that the old federation of the thirteen cantons should be restored. But the others, regardless of this opposition, proceeded to the formation of the federal pact, on the basis of the nineteen cantons. Meantime the new cantons, and especially Vaud, had sent deputies to the allied sovereigns. Vaud had an influential advocate in the person of M. de Laharpe, who had been tutor to the Emperor Alexander; and it has been since acknowledged by the deputies that the firm support of that sovereign saved the cantons of Vaud and Aargau from falling again under the rule of Bern.* Ministers from Austria, Russia, and Prussia, were accredited to the diet in March, 1814, and signified that the sovereigns were disposed to guarantee the new federal constitution on the basis of the nineteen cantons as then existing. The dissident cantons now relaxed in their opposition, and Bern at last sent also deputies to the diet, but it was chiefly to revive inadmissible claims. Long and tedious discussions followed, protests were followed by counterprotests. These cavils, and the delays they occasioned in the general settlement of Swiss affairs, elicited at last a strong note from the ministers of Austria, Russia, and England, dated 13th of August, 1814, in which they expressed their deep regret that the various points of the federal pact were not yet fixed, owing to the unfortunate complication of

* See Mr. H. Monod's letter in the Nouvelliste Vaudois, 5th of March, 1831.

territorial pretensions assumed by some cantons, which had thrown discord into their councils. The ministers hoped that, laying aside minor interests which were not common to all, the dissident cantons would return to proper sentiments of their duty towards their confederates and regain the time lost in their discussions by fresh zeal and activity.

"It is on these conditions," the note concluded, "that the undersigned take the engagement to exert their strenuous efforts in order to obtain equitable compensation to reclamations of a secondary order, and to solicit, with regard to the claims of Bern, which stand in the foremost rank, such powers and instructions as may conciliate the interests of all. Should these proposals not have the desired result of restoring present unanimity, their excellencies will find themselves unable to continue their relations with the diet."*

The new federal pact was at last adopted by the diet in the month of September, with the addition of three new cantons, Geneva, the Valais, and Neuchatel, formerly allies of Switzerland; and a confederation was thus formed, consisting of twenty-two cantons. But the ratification by the different cantons was delayed by local dissensions until August, 1815. Meantime the Congress of Vienna had assembled, and in March, 1815, it proceeded to settle the Swiss territorial questions. The states of the former bishop of Basle were restored to Switzerland, and annexed to the canton of Bern, as a compensation for its losses, but with the condition that Bern should admit deputies from that country into its councils. The minor claims of other cantons were met by pecuniary compensations, and a pension was allowed to the abbot of St. Gall, which the latter, however, we understand, refused to accept. Geneva afterwards received a small annexation of territory between the lake and the Jura, in order to establish its contiguity to the rest of Switzerland, and also a small district of Savoy, with the town of Caroge. Upon the whole, the Congress of Vienna may be said to have behaved fairly to Switzerland.

At last, on the 7th of August, 1815, the new federal pact was sworn to by the deputies of all the cantons, and in the same year the ministers of the five great powers, including France, acknowledged and guaranteed the integrity of the Swiss territory within its present limits, and its neutrality and inviolability in all future wars.

The federal pact, which continues in force to this day, (for the late local changes and revolutions have not affected the general constitution of the union), contains the following principles. The twenty-two cantons mutually guarantee their independence

* Memoire historique, presentè par le conseils d'etat du canton de Vaud, p. 6.

and territory, and are bound to assist each other for this purpose. Upon the demand of any one canton, the federal diet is to send assistance to defend the country and preserve peace. Disputes between the cantons to be referred to the diet, and decisions of the latter to be submitted to. The free passage of provisions and goods from one canton to another is guaranteed. No new tolls or duties on exportation or importation can be laid without the consent of the majority of the cantons. *As there are no longer subjects in Switzerland, so the enjoyment of political rights can never in future be the exclusive privilege of any class of citizens in any one canton.* The high federal diet represents the whole Swiss nation; it consists of the deputies of two-and-twenty cantons, having each a single vote. The deputies are appointed by the cantons for each session, and receive instructions from their respective governments. The diet assembles by turns in the towns of Bern, Zurich, and Luzern, two successive years in each. The ordinary session begins on the first Monday of July, and lasts one month at least. It is presided by the chief magistrate of the canton where it assembles, which canton is called the *vorort* or directing canton. Between the end of one session and the beginning of the next, the direction of the federal affairs is entrusted to the executive of the directing canton, who must afterwards render an account of its gestion to the following diet. In cases of urgency, and on the demand of five cantons, or even of the directing canton singly, an extraordinary diet is convoked. In similar circumstances also the diet can, before its recess, invest the *vorort* with extraordinary powers, or associate to it representatives of the federation, to act as a *federal directory*. The diet declares war, concludes peace and alliances or treaties of commerce with foreign powers; it appoints envoys and consuls; it directs the organization of the federal troops, appoints the general, colonels, and staff; it calls upon each canton to furnish its contingent whenever required, and directs the employment of the federal forces, &c.

Several of the dispositions of this pact date from the earliest times of Swiss independence. The others are of modern date, and are improvements upon the former.

"The present pact," says Franscini, "cannot be said to have been imposed upon us by others. It contains principles entirely national; whatever is in it, whether good or imperfect, all has been the work of the Swiss. We ought to cherish it as our common bond: some provisions of it may be hereafter improved among ourselves, always avoiding the intervention of foreigners."*—*Statistica della Svizzera*, p. 246.

* One provision which existed under the Act of Mediation has been omitted in this, and that is, the liberty the former gave to every Swiss to fix his domicile in any one part of the confederation he chose. Some, especially the smaller states, refuse to allow this liberty to people from other cantons.

Whilst the federal pact was under discussion, most of the cantons were also making alterations in their respective constitutions. We have already seen that Bern, Soleure, and others, had restored, at least for the moment, the old aristocratic administration. This had given rise to serious disturbances on the part of the country people. On the other side, the constitutions of the new cantons formed under the Act of Mediation were considered too democratic. In several notes addressed to the diet by MM. Lebzeltern and Capo d'Istria, it was recommended to the various cantons to revise their constitutions, especially in what concerned the system of election, and the duration of the executive and judicial commissions. It was consequently proposed by a committee of the diet, that, with the exception of the pure democratic cantons, which were to retain their peculiar forms, the rest should endeavour to approximate their respective constitutions to a middle point, the old ones by admitting deputies from the country, and the new ones by changing the mode of election, by raising the qualification required, &c. In June, 1814, Count Capo d'Istria made a tour through Switzerland, visited several cantons, and urged them to accelerate the formation of their new constitutions, as, in order to render the federal pact valid, it was required that the cantons who were to ratify it should have fixed their own public right in a positive manner by constitutional charters. By the end of 1814, after much debate, the new cantons had completed and put in force their new constitutions, and the old ones had also modified theirs so as to meet the more urgent demands of the times. These several constitutions were deposited in the archives of the federal diet.

By dividing the whole of the cantons into three classes, we shall better be enabled to afford our readers some idea of the various machinery of their government. The first class consists of the old democratic cantons, in which little or no alteration has been made, from their first declaration of independence to the present day. These are six in number, viz.: Schwytz, Uri, Glarus, Zug, Unterwalden, and Appenzell. The last two, although considered as single cantons in the diet, are each composed of two republics, having distinct governments: Unterwalden is divided into upper and lower, Obwalden and Nidwalden; and Appenzell, into Rhodes interior, which is inhabited by Catholics, and Rhodes exterior, which is Protestant. The *landsgemeinde*, or general assembly of all the citizens, constitutes the supreme power. It assembles once a year, and oftener in cases of urgency. These assemblies consist of between four and eight thousand men, according to the population of each canton. They make or abrogate laws, appoint their magistrates, fix the expenditure and provide e s uppl ies, and examine the accounts. They appoint deputies to

the federal diet, and give them instructions. The executive consists of the *landrath*, composed of the landamman, the statthälter or lieutenant, and a fixed number of councillors, one for each commune or district. In some, as in Schwytz and Nidwalden, there are two or more councils, dividing among themselves the various branches of administration. Generally speaking, the same, or part of the same, bodies exercise also the judicial functions. Often the same person who has given his verdict in the primary court will sit afterwards in the court of appeal, and have to revise his own sentence. It appears that the nominations to offices are, in ordinary times, under the influence of a few wealthy families in each canton; and that the magistrates, excepting the landamman and the statthälter, whose duration of office is fixed, may be considered as remaining in place for life, unless they render themselves obnoxious to the people; for the power of the landsgemeinde, although slumbering at intervals, is then aroused and proves irresistible.

The two cantons of the Grisons and Valais may be also considered as democracies. These states are composed of small municipalities, having each its own councils and magistrates, and who send deputies to a great council, which exercises the higher legislative powers. The laws, however, which emanate from the great council, must be submitted to the approbation of the communal assemblies of the people. It may be said that these states constitute confederations in miniature, similar to that of Switzerland, of which they form a part. In the Valais the forms are less democratic than in the Grisons.

There can be no doubt that the people of these mountain districts are generally satisfied with, and indeed strongly attached to, their institutions; they have proved it repeatedly, at the cost of their lives, during the last forty years. Small communities, where each is known to each, and every man's character and conduct are daily open to common scrutiny; where no great inequality of condition prevails; where almost every man is a peasant or a shepherd; where habits, manners, dress, and mode of living remain the same, generation after generation; where the vallies lie encircled for six or eight months of the year by an impassable zone of ice and snow, and where people live and die, unconscious of what is going on beyond the limits of their visual horizon; where the rough dialect of one valley is hardly understood in the next; where there are no newspapers or hardly any books printed, and few people know any thing of general politics;* to such a country the simple

* The natural good sense of these people tells them that their habits and pursuits render them unequal to higher political duties than those of the landsgemeinde. Müller

forms of democracy seem best adapted. With the exception of part of Glarus and of Appenzell, the democratic cantons are catholic, and strictly observant of their religion. Nor are they gloomy morose beings, these same men of Schwytz and Glarus, Unterwalden and Uri. Their holidays are real festivals; they flock from their humble dwellings, men and women, in the picturesque attire of the country, to the parish church, and after having attended service, they repair to the adjoining meadows to enjoy some of their national diversions and games. Gymnastic exercises, wrestling, leaping, shooting with rifle or bow, are in high favour among them. The men pride themselves on their feats of strength, which are often surprising. They are also passionately fond of dancing. Their mode of courtship has been described by several travellers. Their marriages are attended with much solemnity and display.

The second class of cantons consists of those in which aristocratic institutions have long prevailed. These are Bern, Friburg, Soleure, Zurich, Luzern, Basle, and Schaffhausen. All these cities were in the middle ages free imperial towns, and places of refuge against feudal oppression. As they, after the example of the little cantons, detached themselves from the empire, and joined the Swiss confederation, their municipal administration became the basis of their constitution; in some, the corporations of trades, in others, the patrician families, who were also owners of the territory adjoining, constituted the council or senate, which had the legislative authority. By degrees the towns received considerable additions of territory, either by the neighbouring propietors placing themselves under their protection, or by their own conquests over the barons, and sometimes by purchases from the latter. The cultivators of the soil, thus transferred from the arbitrary laws of feudal vassalage to the milder rule of the towns, where justice was administered according to public right,* found themselves benefited by the change, and sought no more. When their descendants, several centuries after, talked of the rights of their ancestors, it was aptly remarked by a writer of the

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relates, that once the people of Schwytz used to send indiscriminately some of their farmers or graziers as deputies to the federal diet. One of these deputies, on his return home, appeared before the landsgemeinde to give an account of his mission, and he thus addressed the men of Schwytz: "Countrymen, if you wish to have an effective deputy to the diet, one that can speak for your interests and make himself attended to, you must not send men like me, who are only acquainted with the concerns of our fields and cattle; but send such men as our Redings—men who have studied, who have seen the world, who can understand what those gentlemen from the towns talk about, and can answer them to the purpose, and make themselves minded." This advice was followed.

* In 1486, the Teutonic Order being possessed of the commandery of Buchsee, within the territories of Bern, was obliged by the latter to emancipate its serfs, on the ground that *slavery was contrary to the spirit of Christianity.*

time, that "could they possibly be restored to that happy condition which they claimed, they would find themselves serfs under some feudal lord." Those communes which had enjoyed immunities under the feudal regime, retained them; but no political rights were among these.

In course of time, however, the country districts rose in industry, wealth, and population, villages were changed into flourishing little towns, and then the exclusive privileges of the cities began to appear irksome and oppressive. The commercial cities, Zurich and Basle, not satisfied with exercising the supreme authority, shackled or taxed to their profit the industry of the country. Countrymen could not manufacture certain goods, they could not sell or buy others except from the city merchant. They could not purchase freehold property in the towns. They were not admissible to any situation in the church or state, excepting the municipal offices of their communes.

This state of things lasted till 1798, and was formally abolished by the act of mediation of 1803. In 1814, the towns strove to resume their privileges, but owing to the disturbances that arose, and perhaps still more to the suggestions of the foreign ministers, they admitted the country to about one-third of the seats in their legislative councils. They also acknowledged a general liberty of commerce and industry. This was conformable to the stipulations of the new federal pact. But by keeping the great majority of seats to themselves, they still continued to legislate for the country and in spite of it, and they likewise retained the disposal of offices and emolument in their own hands.

The third class, or the cantons generally known by the name of the new cantons, were originally constituted under the act of mediation, as popular representative governments. The canton was divided into circles, the electors of each circle named three deputies, having certain qualifications of property, to the great council or legislative assembly. The distinction between the three powers was strictly enforced. The duration of functions in each was fixed. These constitutions, as we have seen, fell, in 1814, with the act of mediation that had given them birth. The system that was substituted for them exhibited a curious machinery, contrived, it was said, in order to check a too democratic tendency. The mode of election was triple; one third of the members of the legislature was elected directly by the circle assemblies as before. These assemblies were then called upon to furnish a list of four candidates for each circle, possessed of a higher qualification than the direct members, out of which list the great council itself chose one for each circle, thus supplying another third. Lastly, an electoral commission, composed of the *council of state*

or *executive*, the high court of appeal, and a certain number of members of the great council, chose the remaining third of the members, chiefly from among the higher landed proprietors, and a few without any qualification of property. The great council then appointed the members of the executive or council of state, and of the supreme judiciary court, out of its own body, without the individuals so appointed ceasing to form part of the legislature. The right of *initiative*, or of proposing laws, belonged exclusively to the executive. A project of law by the council of state could only be either accepted or rejected by the great council, but not amended. The consequence of this system was, that the governments of the new cantons, while professing to be popular and boasting of their *liberty*, in opposition to the old aristocracies, became in fact the property of certain *coteries*, who secured power for themselves and their friends for ever. The aristocratic cantons at least were openly such, and had been so for ages; they had of late made considerable concessions to their former subordinates; whilst the new cantons, created of yesterday by the popular will, were now become the appanage of the very men who had stirred up the people to throw off the yoke of their former masters, and who had neither patrician descent nor hereditary rights to boast of.*

Such was the political condition of the various states of Switzerland in the early part of 1830. The general appearance of the country was however tranquil and even prosperous. There were no acts of crying oppression complained of, but there was a want of improvement and a general languor in the administration. The civil and criminal laws remained as they had ever been, very defective in most cantons. The sittings of the councils and diet were kept secret. The press was almost every where under strict censorship. Petitions had been presented in several cantons for the revision of the constitutions of 1814, but were contemptuously rejected. The canton of Ticino first broke the spell, and it is curious to see the first example of successful reform in republican Switzerland coming from the Italian side of the Alps. It is to be observed, however, that the abuses in the government of Ticino appear to have been of a graver character than any where else. From the statements published at the time, it would appear that offices were openly sold, bribery openly practised, and men kept in prison for years without being brought to trial.†

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* Réflexions impartiales, ou Résumé des faits du 17 et 18 Decembre, et de leurs antecedens.—Geneve, 1831.

† Discorso pronunciato nel Gran Consiglio del Cantone Ticinese, 7 Giugno, 1830. —Lugano.

Perseghini, Colpo d'occhio al paragrafo settimo del decreto governativo, etc., 18 Giuguo, 1830.—Ibid.

On the 1st of May, 1830, the commune of Lugano assembled according to the existing regulations, in order to elect its municipal officers. After the election, the Syndic, Mr. Luvini, in returning thanks to the meeting, spoke warmly of the wants and wishes of his countrymen for a reform in the constitution. The assembly answered by acclamations, and the speech was printed and largely distributed. The other communal assemblies followed the example of Lugano, and expressed themselves in a similar strain. The executive council, which had been till then influenced and overawed by a party, refused to resort to measures of repression. The legislative council assembled as usual on the 7th of June, and the president, Lotti, opened the session by a speech in favour of reform. The executive council then, by virtue of its right of initiative, proposed a project of constitution on liberal principles. After full discussion, the project was adopted by the legislative council, and submitted to the general assemblies of the circles, who readily sanctioned it, and the new constitutional law was proclaimed. It establishes the system of direct election by the citizens, the elections to be renewed every four years. The members of the legislature cannot fill any situation under the executive. The members of the latter, as well as those of the high court of judicature, cannot be at the same time members of the great council. The sittings of the great council are public. The councillors of state are elected for four years, at the expiration of which they may be re-elected for four years more only. The liberty of the press, the inviolability of persons, and the right of petition, are parts of the fundamental law; no tax can be laid without a majority of two-thirds of the great council. All lotteries and public games of chance are forbidden. The present constitution cannot be modified before a lapse of twelve years, and then any modification of it must be submitted to the approval of the primary assemblies of the people.

This essential change, the principles of which have been since adopted in most of the other cantons of Switzerland, took place in the Ticino without any popular commotion or interruption of public order, and at a time when the events of Paris could not possibly be foretold or foreseen. The news of the last week of July therefore only contributed to quicken the explosion in the other cantons; it broke out successively in all the new cantons in the months of November and December. In those of Aargau and Vaud, owing to the tergiversation and imprudent obstinacy of the existing governments, it was accompanied by serious disturbances; the country people repaired en masse to Aarau and Lausanne, in order to oblige their respective councils to convoke the assemblies of circles to appoint deputies to frame a new con-

stitution; as soon as this was done, however, the tumult ceased and the people returned home quietly. In the cantons of Thurgau and St. Gall, the crisis was of a milder character, these governments having yielded in time, and ordered the revision of the constitution. The popular partisans themselves made an honourable acknowledgment of the upright and temperate conduct of the old magistracy, the question not being with them one of persons but of principles.

In the old aristocratic cantons the opposition was stronger and more systematic, as might be expected. Although the struggle was again partially between the towns and the country as before, the towns were now also divided among themselves, many of the citizens desiring a system of direct election and a more general distribution of offices. The communes on the banks of the lake of Zurich, always prone to agitation, even in olden times, such as Stafa,* Wadenschwyl, Herrliberg, &c., were all foremost in the present movement. A meeting took place at Uster, which was attended by eight thousand men, who signed a petition, couched in firm yet respectful terms, and addressed to the burgomaster in office, or chief of the executive, demanding a revision of the constitution of 1814, and a system of representatation founded on a more equal distribution of rights between town and country. After a long debate the great council appointed a committee to frame a new plan of election, by which the nominations should be direct, the three powers divided, the duration of offices limited, and the country should return *two-thirds of the deputies, and the city of Zurich one-third.* It was argued that although the city of Zurich did not constitute above one-thirteenth of the population of the whole canton, yet owing to its superior capital and industry, to the important interests concerned in these, to its greater share of taxation, to its being the centre of the administration and of the public institutions, and lastly, to its superiority in point of intelligence and instruction, it ought, for its own security, and even for the general advantage of the country, to have a greater share in the representation than would have devolved to it on the principle of mere numerical proportion. To this the country deputies agreed, and the same principle has since presided the new constitutions of the former aristocratic or town cantons, Luzern, Basle, Schaffhausen, &c. It was not thought advisable to leave the towns at the mercy of the country people, whose jealousy and recollection of former grievances had been aroused afresh by

* During the last forty years these communes have risen several times against the privileges of the town of Zurich, especially in 1797 and 1804, when, being put down by force, they were treated with great severity, and executions and confiscations took place.—See *Zschokke's History.*

the late events, until at last property itself might be exposed to danger from their violence. Basle declared, that rather than allow itself to be governed by the country, according to the system of numerical representation, it would detach itself from it and return to its former condition of a free town. The case is different in the new cantons, in which, from their recent formation and the prevalence of agricultural industry, the principal towns, such as Lausanne, Aarau, Frauenfeld, Lugano,* have none of the comparative importance and paramount interests of the ancient free cities of Zurich, Bern, Basle, &c.

Friburg was, by a singular contrast with its name, *Frey-burg*, the most aristocratic canton in Switzerland, till the late events. In contempt of the federal pact of 1814, three-fourths of the representatives were chosen from amongst eighty patrician families of the town, called the *old bourgeoisie* of Friburg, by an electoral committee appointed by the great council itself. The remaining fourth was also chosen by the great council from lists of candidates named by the country. The qualification required was higher than in any other canton, being twenty thousand Swiss livres, equal to thirty thousand francs, in landed property. Friburg is an agricultural country. The executive or little council framed lists of three candidates for every vacancy that occurred in its own body, and the great council chose one among these. It was in short a complete self-electing oligarchy. The consequence was, that the government was considered as the most arbitrary and illiberal in Switzerland. Friburg was styled the little Spain. Being a Catholic canton, the bishop had great influence in state affairs. Besides numerous convents, Trappists among others, the foreign Jesuits from France made a settlement at Friburg, after which the government suppressed the schools of mutual instruction, which a liberal ecclesiastic, Father Girard, had laboured to establish for the education of the lower classes, with the full consent of the municipality. The roads of Friburg are proverbially bad, and industry and instruction are at a very low ebb. The movement for reform extended to this canton in November, 1830. A petition was presented from the country to the avoyer in office, demanding equality of political rights, direct elections, and the amovibility of persons in office. The great council refused to notice the petition. The government made demonstrations of resistance, and collected troops, but several thousand armed peasants having come to the town, the municipal council, seeing the danger, addressed the executive in firm language, requesting it to calm the people by concession. In the

* The chief towns of Vaud, Aargau, Thurgau and Ticino.

month of December the great council gave way, and the electoral assemblies were convoked to name deputies to a constituent assembly for the purpose of framing a constitution on a popular representative basis.

Bern, the largest and most important state of all Switzerland, has ever been one of the best administered. The government was enlightened, prudent, and economical, its magistrates were generally respectable and respected, and the people are distinguished for their good sober sense, their industry, love of order, and respect for the laws. But the constitution of 1814 had maintained too many of the former aristocratic privileges for the present disposition of mind of the country. Two hundred representatives, named by the city of Bern alone, with a population of not twenty thousand, was considered preposterous, while the whole of the country, including several considerable towns, and reckoning 350,000 inhabitants, elected only 99. The burghers of the city, also, had no elective franchise, the nominations being made by an electoral commission, composed of the executive and of sixteen members of the great council, from a list of candidates belonging to a limited number of families. As some of the latter became extinct, new families were added to the list from the *bourgeoisie*.

In December, 1830, meetings took place in the country, condemnatory of this state of things, at Burgdorf, the second town in the canton, at Thun, and especially in the districts formerly belonging to the Bishop of Basle. The burghers of Bern also held a meeting, and as by the laws of Bern collective petitions were not allowed, they commissioned some liberal members of the great council to state their requests, which were for direct elections, publicity of debates, and the separation of the town and country administration. Meantime the militia, in several parts of the country, refused to act and disperse the meetings. At last the executive, coming to terms, proposed, as a preliminary measure, a project of law for appointing a committee to receive the petitions of the communes and report thereon. This project of law was laid next day before the great legislative council, and voted unanimously. The sitting was remarkable for the dignity and good sense it exhibited. Several of the most distinguished men of Bern strongly supported the measure, among others Mr. Fellenberg, of Hofwyl, who considered it as a most honourable initiative on the part of government.* He only regretted that

* After having thus paid his duty to his country, Mr. Fellenberg tendered his resignation of his seat in the great council, accompanying it by the following remarkable expressions:—"I believe I shall best fulfil my duties towards my country by devoting myself exclusively to the establishments I have formed at Hofwyl, Maykirch, &c., for propagating a system of national education, grounded *on morality and sound religion*, and

they should have waited so long, until parties were almost in presence of one another. The sincerity of the government was further shown by the choice it made of the members of the committee, called *The Eleven.* While this was taking place in the halls of the councils, the authorities had not neglected precautions against any insurrectionary movements. Troops were stationed in the various squares, several pieces of horse artillery, harnessed, were in the court of the arsenal, strong pickets of cavalry paraded the streets, whilst others were stationed outside the town in the avenues leading to it. The public tranquillity was not for a moment disturbed. In January, 1831, the committee made its report, embodying the substance of the numerous petitions under the following heads:—A revision of the constitution of 1814; abolition of all privileges of persons and families; extension of the right of election in favour of the country; true and direct nomination of members in town and country; abolition of the censorship, and a law against the abuses of the press; a municipal organization of the communes, with right of choosing their own magistrates; a general synod of the national Protestant Church, to watch over its interests; revision of the act of annexation of the bailliages, formerly belonging to the Bishop of Basle; publicity of debates, right of petition, division of powers, renewal of offices, &c., as in the other cantons.

On the 18th of January the great council formally, and of its own accord, renounced its right of discussing the project for a new constitution, and a constituent council *ad hoc* was convoked on the 19th. Among the members of the latter we saw the name of Mr. Kasthofer, the intelligent and benevolent writer on the rural economy of his country. The new constitution was not completed till the following summer. The old authorities meantime remained *pro tempore*, and every thing proceeded at Bern with the greatest regularity, as if nothing extraordinary had happened. In the annexed bailliages, bordering on France, there were local insurrections, which however were put down after the settlement of the constitutional question.

Soleure, Luzern, and Schaffhausen followed the example of Zurich and Bern, and so did Basle, where, however, alarming disturbances broke out. It was in this canton that the worst spirit, a spirit really revolutionary and anarchical, showed itself.

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which at the same time favours the developement of science and industry. The circumstances of the times show every day more and more the necessity of such an education. A people, moral, religious, truly Christian, a people well acquainted with its position and its real wants, can alone resist dangerous instigations at all times. Magistrates, who, by a superior education, are raised above fear and the solicitations of parties, are alone capable of steering the vessel of the state safely through political storms."

This may be accounted for from various causes. Basle, an opulent and commercial city, had, before 1798, kept the country in a state of dependence, greater than that enforced by Zurich. But the country of Basle is not to be compared to that of Zurich for extent, population, fertility, local situation, or industry. In short, the city of Basle was almost every thing in the canton, the country next to nothing. The evil is of old standing, and although of late years the country had been much better treated, yet the peasants have remained rude and ignorant. When in consequence of the second insurrection that took place last summer, troops from other cantons were sent by the diet, and quartered in the several villages and districts of the country, the officers and men could not help exclaiming with astonishment, how different the peasants appeared to them from those of the other cantons, how low in the scale of intelligence, how plain and coarse the women.* Such a peasantry, in the neighbourhood of the wealthiest town in Switzerland, could without much difficulty be aroused to feelings of envy, jealousy and violence against the "overgrown purse-proud citizens," who were represented as withholding from them their rights. The position of that canton, also, at one extremity of Switzerland, between France and Germany, made it a convenient place of refuge for adventurers and emigrants of various colours and denominations, and of discharged soldiers of the Swiss regiments in the service of Charles X., some of whom joined the ranks of the insurrection in their own country, after having been expelled from France by another insurrection. Emissaries from abroad were not wanting, for money was distributed pretty freely by the insurgents to enlist recruits. And lastly, the tumultuary spirit of the country people of Zurich, Soleure, Argau and Luzern, who had lately risen against their own rulers, now led them to take loudly the part of "their brethren the peasants of Basle." Meetings were called at Wadenschwyl, Sursee, &c., in the canton of Zurich and Luzern, and it was proposed, against all principle of law, and against the very essentials of the federal pact, to march *en masse* into the territory of another independent state, to bring the *tartuffes and millionnaires of Basle* to their senses. Such were the expressions of the Swiss propagandists, and the journals of that party fanned the flame. There was some danger of a general social war among the Swiss. Now Basle had just done as much, if not more, to conciliate its own country people, as Zurich, Luzern, and the other towns. A constitution was adopted at the beginning of 1831, by which the city of Basle, which forms at least one-fourth of the population of the whole canton, which bears *three-fourths* of

* Nouvelliste Vaudois for the months of September and October, 1831.

the whole taxation, and whose property and capital are enormous, when compared to that of the rest of the country, names seventy-five deputies to the legislative council, while the country appoints seventy-nine. The other provisions were liberal, direct elections, temporary durations of office, &c. The deputies sent by the country, who composed one half of the committee that framed the new constitution, approved of the measure. But some agitators in the country were not so easily satisfied; they convoked a *landsgemeinde*, a thing unknown in the cantons of Basle, at Liechstall, which has been of old a turbulent district, for the spirit of agitation seems to perpetuate itself in localities as much as in families. The insurgents were armed; they sent a summons to the town, demanding that the country should have five-sevenths of the representatives, and an answer in twenty-four hours. The people of Basle, on their part, took arms in their own defence, in defence of their properties and of their families, threatened by the irruption of thousands of undisciplined and riotous peasants.* The latter advanced against the town, but the artillery from the ramparts and the sorties of the armed citizens soon obliged them to retire after some loss, pursued by the civic guard of Basle, who entered Liechstall, the head-quarters of the insurrection, without opposition. The insurgents were dispersed, some of the leaders ran away, others were taken prisoners, and the country being restored to tranquillity, the new constitution was sanctioned by the seven-eighths of the communes composing the canton. This was in February, 1831.

The democratic cantons took hardly any part in the events of 1830-1. Their institutions remained the same. These sturdy old republicans seem to have looked with a suspicious eye at what was going on in the other cantons. Only in the Protestant half of Appenzell, called exterior Rhodes, the landsgemeinde of 1830 decided that the *landbuch*, or statutes of the country, should be revised, and a new project was framed with a view to the separation of the legislative, executive and judicial powers, which are no where more mixed and confounded than in those little democracies. The project, of which we shall here give some of the heads, was printed previously to being laid before the next landsgemeinde for acceptation. The landsgemeinde consists of all the citizens who have received religious instruction and have attained their eighteenth year. It is held every year, on the first Sunday of April, alternately at Trogen and at Hund-

* "Les Balois à leurs confederés," p. 4. We heard from persons who had spoken with the insurgents that many of them fully expected to plunder Basle. One man remarked that he only wanted to get money enough to buy two cows.

weil. It exercises the supreme legislative power, examines the accounts, fixes the expenditure, and provides for the revenue. The great council, which is here the executive, consists of the landamman, and one councillor for each commune; it appoints deputies to the diet, and enforces the execution of the laws. The supreme court of judicature consists of thirteen members, who cannot at the same time exercise any other function, whether in or under the government. In capital cases its sentences must be submitted to the great council, which confirms or rejects them. The trials are public. The *kirchören*, or parish meetings, assembled twice a year, name their municipal officers, the justices of peace, and administer the property of their respective communes. They have also the right of choosing and of dismissing their clergyman or curate. Every commune has a *court of morals*, or a censorial tribunal, composed of the clergyman and two syndics. Every commune provides for its own poor; this is generally the case all over Switzerland. Most public officers are paid by the day. A deputy to the federal diet receives two florins forty-two kreutzers per diem.* The landamman, or chief magistrate, receives an annual salary of one hundred florins, about 9*l.* sterling; the statthälter, fifteen florins!

Whilst all these changes were taking place, and the people were busy in some cantons in framing new constitutions or discussing those that had been framed previously to their being accepted, and in others about the elections in accordance with the new system, the time for the meeting of the federal diet of 1831 approached. The session promised to be unusually interesting. The federal pact of 1814, the bond of union between the various members of the Swiss confederacy, still remained the same, it was the main anchor of security in the critical position of their affairs, both foreign and domestic. The diet met at Luzern on the 4th of July. The president, Avoyer Amrhyn, of the *Vorort*, or directing canton, opened the session by a temperate and rather satisfactory speech concerning the situation of the common country. The neutrality of Switzerland had been again confirmed by all the great powers. The courts of Vienna and St. Petersburgh, in doing this, had expressed something like a feeling of surprise not unmixed with displeasure, at the armaments which took place last year for the defence of Swiss independence against any possible attack. The federal directory had given those courts explanations on the subject in language firm and respectful at the same time. The King of Prussia had expressed a peculiar

* Eleven florins of Appenzell are equal to £1 sterling. The florin is divided into 60 kreutzers. The landamann and statthälter are generally men of property.

interest in the welfare of the Swiss, with whom he was connected as Prince of Neuchatel. Measures had been taken for the execution of the treaty with France concerning the payment of the officers and men of the Swiss regiments lately in that service. Some differences having occurred between the canton of Ticino and the governments of Lombardy and Piedmont, on the subject of the Italian and other refugees, the federal directory had taken the matter into consideration, for the purpose of *fixing the right of refuge within proper bounds.*

With regard to the interior, the president hoped that all the new constitutions would be deposited in the federal archives, and placed under the federal guarantee, during the course of the actual session, as it would be unsafe for the country were the diet to separate without accomplishing this. At Bern the new constitution was being submitted to the general assemblies for approval. The new law of election in the Valais was also under discussion, but tranquillity seemed to be re-established in that state.* The canton of Schwytz alone exhibited a lamentable scene of dissension. The old district of Schwytz, including the town, had assumed certain prerogatives over the other districts, and after a long and angry discussion the outer districts assembled their own landsgemeinde, and an actual separation had taken place.

After touching upon several details of military administration, the president concluded by congratulating himself on being surrounded by magistrates who enjoyed the confidence of their constituents, and most of whom had lately given proofs of that wise union of conciliation with firmness, which alone could avert from their common country the evils that threatened it.

The various deputies then *saluted* each other according to the old federal custom. They afterwards all expressed in turn the general sentiments of their constituents; and as these short declarations are strongly indicative of the *temper* of each canton, and are otherwise curious by the manner of their style, we shall give in a few words an abstract of them, in the order in which they were delivered. Luzern having already spoken by the organ of its chief magistrate, the president of the diet,

2. The Deputy of Zurich said he hoped that wisdom and generosity

* Several communes of the Lower Valais, in the neighbourhood of Martigny, arose, demanding alterations in their constitution. The fact is, that the deputies to the legislature are elected equally by the *dixains*, or districts, some of which are more populous than others. But the real majority, or German part of the population, are satisfied with this order of things; while the Lower Valaisans, who are a different race and speak a French dialect, object to it The consequence was that the militia from the upper country marched to Martigny and put down the trees of liberty and tri-coloured flags, which were denounced as " symbols of brigandage, and not of liberty."

would soon cause the late events to be forgotten. He wished to see the bond between the confederates drawn closer, without, however, infringing on their respective independence within their own territories. "Zurich shrinks from no sacrifice for the liberty and independence of the common country."

3. The Deputy of Bern entertained fears lest discord and passions should interrupt the former peaceful happiness of the land. "Ancient Bern, faithful to its oath, will do all that, under the present circumstances, may contribute to the maintenance of peace and union."

4. The Deputy of Uri questioned whether the assurances of fidelity and union which resounded in that hall could tranquillize the country at a moment when, by means of a majority partly factitious, so many new governments were springing up on all sides. "Out of two-and-twenty families inhabiting one and the same mansion, some have taken to dress and live after a new fashion, while the rest continue faithful to the manners of their forefathers. This does not promise a happy concord between them, and it seems difficult that they should agree without calling in for the interference of a foreign mediator. The Deputy of Uri cannot look favourably on a revolution which has overthrown all institutions and religion. The liberty of the press, secret societies, and a system of slander against all loyal men—such are the means employed; and yet we talk of the union of Switzerland!"

5. Schwytz could not fully express the painful sentiments caused by the many calumnies that had been uttered and reported against the ancient country of Schwytz.

6. Unterwalden. "The descendants of Winkelried will ever be ready to make any sacrifice demanded by the common country. They have lived happy and free these five centuries, and they ardently wish that all Switzerland may enjoy the same blessings."

7. Glarus. "Once this day was a day of joy; now we see neither confidence nor peace. In many a foreign country the popular movements have occasioned serious distress. That which till now appeared certain is become problematic; things which were held most sacred have disappeared. May Divine Providence render this a lesson useful to our country, and teach us to distinguish between those principles which are durable and those which are only illusory."

8. Zug. "The Swiss people, notwithstanding some errors, have shown themselves courageous and good. They must succeed, whether by a gradual developement of their institutions, or by a terrible struggle. Let not the confederates forget that Swiss liberty had its birth on a field of battle. The Swiss are little skilled in diplomatic mysteries. May a common interest animate all the Swiss, and *a closer bond* unite them together!"

9. Friburg. "The *existing federal pact is sufficient*. All that is prescribed in it Friburg will fulfil; more can not be demanded. The danger may be nearer than we think; let us nerve our courage; let us hope that the disheartening words, 'it is all over with the Confederation, the diet is now assembled for the last time!' shall be heard no more among us; Friburg for its part rejects the omen; in the hour of danger we will show that we are all brethren."

10. Soleure. "The people of Soleure have shown themselves worthy of liberty, and they are ready to make the greatest sacrifices to maintain it. Wishes for a greater centralization of the federal power have been manifested, but the people will not renounce their lately acquired sovereignty, therefore the greatest caution is required concerning this point."

11. Basle congratulated the deputies on their meeting together once more for the common interest of their country.

12. Schaffhausen. "It is a consolation that on the great and important question of our federal independence towards the stranger but one opinion prevails. Brothers may be divided concerning the use and internal division of their common dwelling, but they will unite no doubt to defend and protect the building which has sheltered their infancy."

13. Appenzell. "A firm resolve to sacrifice everything to our common country lies deep in the heart of every man of Appenzell. The times are critical, but no one of the confederates is dismayed by them. Time moves on—we must take care to move along with it."

14. St. Gall. "The people feel the want of a closer union with their governments; they will no longer have masters. A new career is opened to Switzerland; that which is not yet reformed moves rapidly towards reform. May this spirit which manifests itself in the people, maintain our external independence whilst it ameliorates our internal institutions!"

15. The Grisons. "This canton congratulates the various cantons newly constituted upon their closer approximation to the constitution of the Grisons. Discord is still raging in some states; the unbounded license of the press is a deplorable evil, but the deputy trusts in the wisdom and firmness of the federal assembly. The Grisons are ready to co-operate with the latter, persuaded that nothing will be required beyond the obligations stipulated in the federal pact."

16. Aargau. "After some deplorable events the people of Aargau have accepted a new constitution, and they are ready to concur in any measure that will draw closer the federal bonds."

17. Thurgau. "This canton has also accepted a new constitution, which was desired, not in consequence of any acts of oppression of the former government, which was good and loyal, but because the old institutions checked the intellectual developement of the citizens. Agitation and disturbances were of short duration among us; the most perfect tranquillity now prevails. As for defending the independence of Switzerland, we will do all that is in our power to do."

18. Ticino. "Our new institutions have endeared our country to our people. They are resolved to do all for the defence of their liberty."

19. Vaud expressed its wishes for internal peace, in order that Switzerland may be strong against any attempts from the stranger.

20. Valais alluded to the disturbances that have agitated the canton; tranquillity is now restored. It rejected every idea of centralization; the hint itself was suspicious, and just now ill-timed. "We will not act like Belgium—we will not purchase our regeneration at the price of our annihilation; we must ameliorate our institutions with circumspection; we must oppose *idealism* and ultra-liberalism. The former, regardless of what exists, traces its fanciful plans with charcoal, the lines

of which are soon effaced. The latter mistrusts all power, and sees in authority nothing but abuses.

21. Neuchatel advised moderation.

22. Geneva saw many ameliorations wanted in the military organization of the country, and thought it lucky that the hour of danger had not taken it by surprise.

Shortly after the meeting of the diet fresh disturbances broke out in the canton of Basle. The old insurgents of Liechstall again mustered in considerable force. They complained that the amnesty had not been kept by the government of Basle; that several persons were still detained in confinement; and that the constitution which had been laid before the communal assemblies was only accepted through undue influence, and a feeling of fear after the defeat of the country people. They then demanded a new convocation of the primary assemblies. The citizens of Basle on their side were again under arms, and marched upon Liechstall, but they fell into an ambuscade of the peasants, and lost several killed and wounded. After this the insurgents ruled over the greater part of the country; they formed a provisional government; they forced the peaceful inhabitants of several communes to join them; levied contributions, and plundered and ill-treated many of those whom they considered as their opponents. They were joined by turbulent men from other cantons. At last the diet, seeing anarchy raging, sent commissioners, who, however, could not bring the insurgents to reason until several battalions of federal troops were ordered to march into the canton. They summoned the insurgents to disperse, but were obliged at length to resort to forcible measures; several of the leaders were arrested, and their convention broken up.

The writer of this happened to be in Switzerland at the time. There was much anxiety in people's minds concerning these unlucky disturbances and their possible results. The peasants of other cantons seemed disposed to take part with those of Basle. Some of the newly-constituted governments too, especially Zurich, showed a marked partiality on the same side. Luckily, the diet interposed in time to prevent much mischief. We saw at Zurich proofs of the prevailing spirit. A battalion of the militia, chiefly from the country, was assembled at the barracks ready to march according to the orders of the diet: and a more disorderly body of men we have seldom seen. The street before the barracks, one of the widest in Zurich, was choked up with the soldiers, many of them half drunk, and their relatives and friends, and presented all day long a scene of the greatest noise and confusion. The men annoyed by their rude jeering any decent females that happened to pass that way. When the major issued orders to repress and

punish intoxication, they answered that they were free men. They declared they would never fight against their brethren the peasants of Basle. In short, their whole conduct gave much uneasiness to the quiet citizens of Zurich. Very different was the behaviour of the militia of Luzern and Bern, which we saw a few days after. At Luzern, the men, just called from their peaceful homes, were orderly, good humoured, respectful to their officers, and civil to strangers. The militia of Bern appeared as fine and well disciplined a force as any regular troops we have seen. Indeed, it is impossible to travel through the canton of Bern, to see the healthy cheerful looks of its peasantry, the high state of cultivation of its fields, the comfortable appearance of its numerous and substantial farm houses, the excellent condition of its roads and bridges, the regularity of its post establishment and public coaches, the splendid public buildings of the capital, which is by far the handsomest town in Switzerland, the cleanliness of the streets, the abundance of the markets, the regularity of the police, without being impressed with a high sense of esteem for the government, under which the country has so long prospered. The historian, Müller, who was not blind to the abuses of that government, says—

"It would not be an easy matter to find, in the history of the world, a commonwealth which for so long a period has been so wisely administered as that of Bern. In other aristocracies, the subjects were kept in darkness, poverty and barbarism; factions were encouraged amongst them, while justice winked at crimes; and this was the case in the dependencies of Venice. But the people of Bern stood, with regard to their patricians, rather in the relation of clients towards their patrons, than of subjects towards their sovereigns."

At Bern, the state provided against the effects of storms, inundations, and epidemic disorders. No popular calamity remained unheeded; no individual distress implored assistance in vain. Every commune has funds for the relief of its own poor; establishments have been founded for the sick and the helpless. Agriculture is in a thriving state, the farmers being almost all proprietors, and many possessed of considerable wealth. The country people are richer than the citizens, to whom they consider themselves superior; fortunes of 50,000 Swiss livres, (3000*l.* sterling, and upwards,) are common among them.

It was a too confident security, the result of long peace and prosperity, and a subsequent indecision of councils, that mainly contributed to the overthrow of the Bernese government in 1798. But many of the Bernese patricians behaved well in the hour of trial. On the six black marble slabs in one of the aisles of the Cathedral of Bern, stand recorded the names of those who died in the last struggle for the defence of their city, in that mournful

year, *traurig jahr*, as it is there called. There the names of d'Erlach, Graffenried, Gumoens, Steiguer, May, and other conspicuous families, recall to mind the fallen glories of the Bernese aristocracy. Had the senate, instead of negotiating with a faithless invader, or relying upon lukewarm allies, put all its trust in the energies of the country, in the people, who were then sincerely attached to their government, there is no doubt they would have repelled the attack, and a general rising of Switzerland at their back would have taught their aggressors the necessity of respecting their independence.

In 1814, circumstances had altered; the patricians of Bern, as an order, were obliterated, the minds and sentiments of the people were changed. In attempting to resume their former ascendancy the old families of Bern mistook the temper of the times, and although they made considerable concessions, and continued to govern with their former equity, moderation, and economy, they could no longer command the same deference from the people. At last a new gust of wind from abroad completed their fall. But this second fall was not without dignity on one side, or moderation on the other. The people of Bern did not add insult to the humiliation of their magistrates. On the contrary, several of the latter were freely re-elected to the new councils; some, however, refused, from the morbid feeling perhaps of disgust, and considering themselves ungenerously used, after devoting the best part of their lives to the service of their country. But these angry feelings will pass away, and conciliation will effect its work among such sober, steady, warm-hearted people as the Bernese.

The disturbances of Basle were scarcely quelled when a fresh insurrection broke out in the canton of Neuchatel. In the month of September last, a considerable body of men, principally from the Val de Travers, marched to the town and took possession of the castle, without any resistance from the feeble garrison. They then threatened to batter the town, unless the citizens of Neuchatel provided them with all necessaries; and at the same time they openly demanded a change of government, throwing off the authority of their prince, the King of Prussia. That sovereign had already sent, early in the year, Mr. de Pfuhl, as his commissioner, to inquire into the wants and wishes of his good subjects of Neuchatel. Mr. Pfuhl had been round the country, had listened to all, had promised and indeed effected several alterations in the administration; but not a word had been whispered to him about a separation from the House of Brandenburgh. He had since returned to Berlin to make his report to the King, and it was during his absence that the insurrection broke out. This placed the federal diet in a very delicate position, for the principality of

Neuchatel had been freely bestowed by the states of the country on the Prussian dynasty more than a century since, and has been since guaranteed by treaties, down to that of Vienna. The King had never interfered with the privileges, customs, and statutes of the country. His authority was almost nominal. If any thing was wrong in the state of Neuchatel, the fault laid with the natives themselves. There were several remains of feudal and municipal privileges attached to certain families and towns, which had survived the middle ages. But the insurgents, regardless of treaties and of existing engagements with their Swiss confederates, whom they thus placed in a most awkward position towards Prussia and her allies, wanted to change the constitution *in toto*. On the other hand, there was a strong party at Neuchatel and in the manufacturing districts of Locle and Chaux-de-Fonds, who had no wish for a separation from Prussia, as the territories of that monarchy afford an ample outlet for the produce of their industry, which are introduced as Prussian manufactures, a consideration not to be overlooked in the present embarrassed state of the commercial world. The Prussian party, as it was called, mustered strong at Valengin, and was swelled by country people from the Val de Ruz, &c. The federal diet was here again obliged to interpose to prevent hostilities; it sent commissioners, followed by troops from the neighbouring cantons of Bern, Vaud, and Friburg. The insurgents were summoned to give up the castle, which they did, after they saw the preparations made by the federal commander to attack them. Since that time, the King of Prussia has sent back Mr. de Pfuhl to see what can be done to tranquillize the country, declaring, at the same time, that he could not for a moment listen to any demand for giving up his title to the principality, especially as the greater and more influential part of the inhabitants entertained no desire for such a change.*

Such was the state of Switzerland towards the close of 1831. We have not spoken of those cantons, such as Geneva, where the constitution has undergone no violent change. In the last mentioned city the government itself, with wise foresight, proposed alterations conformable to the spirit that was abroad. The duration of office has been limited, the elections have been rendered more popular, &c.

The present population of Switzerland is nearly two millions. It can muster, at a few weeks notice, an army of about seventy

* The latest accounts bring the termination of the insurrection, and the trial of the ringleaders in the last days of December by a court-martial, which has condemned them to various punishments. It is more than probable, however, that the result of these proceedings will be the entire separation of Neuchatel from the Swiss confederation.

thousand men, from the contingents and reserves of the various cantons, all trained to arms and acquainted with their duties. The men are encamped and exercised in the field in their respective cantons, at fixed periods of the year.

May Switzerland maintain both its independence and its internal tranquillity! She has been, with all her troubles, a favoured country, and deserves to continue so " with all her faults."

ART. IX.—1. *An Act for granting Duties of Customs.* (6 Geo. IV. cap. 111.)

2. *Tarif général des Douanes da la France, pour* 1831. Paris; par autorisation du Gouvernement.

THE arguments that have of late been urged against the continuance of the taxes called, in general, the Taxes on Knowledge, have been both numerous and forcible; but there is one branch of those taxes, which appears to have excited less attention than it deserves,—namely, the Duties on the Importation of Foreign Books. The subject is one which seems to fall properly within our department, and we shall therefore take leave to inform our readers exactly how the case at present stands, that they may judge, whether, or not, the taxes on Foreign Literature require modification.

Books were, we believe, first charged with an import duty in the reign of Charles the Second, but were hardly considered a regular object of revenue till the passing of the Act of the 27 Geo. 3, c. 13, which took effect on the 10th of May, 1787, and imposed a duty on bound books of 19*s.* 3*d.* per cwt., and on unbound books, of 8*s.* 10*d.* per cwt. At this rate it continued till the year 1809, when the necessities of the war obliged the government in so many instances to lay on taxes with a heavy and capricious hand; and by the Act 49 Geo. 3, c. 98, the duty on bound books was raised to 4*l.* 2*s.*, and on unbound, to 3*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* the cwt. The 59th Geo. 3, c. 58, made another change—not, as might have been supposed, a reduction, in consideration of the country being then in the fifth year of peace, but a further increase, which rated bound books at 6*l.* 10*s.*, and unbound at 5*l.* the cwt. However, by the Consolidation of Customs Act of the 6 Geo. 4, c. 111, commencing on the 5th July, 1825, the duties were slightly modified, and they now stand payable thus under that Act, viz:—

On books, being of editions printed prior to 1801, bound or unbound, the cwt.	£1
On books, being of editions printed since the year 1801, bound or unbound, the cwt.	£5

The former class of duties is understood to have been fixed by way of encouragement to the importation in mass of libraries of foreign books, which the auctioneers and dealers represented would thus find a market in England, and enrich the scholar as well as the bibliomaniac, if some consideration were afforded to the trade for the long period for which they were so frequently obliged to keep them on hand unproductively. The official returns do not afford the means of distinguishing the respective qualities of new and old books introduced; but the revenue is chiefly derived from the editions of later date than 1801, which pay what is equivalent to about 10¾*d* the pound.

Now, in the first place, the policy of encouraging the importation of old books, at the expense of new ones, seems rather whimsical. It is almost as strange as the cry of the exchange of new lamps for old ones, in the story of Aladdin. For, it is well known that such old books as have any value at all, either to the literary or the curious, are infinitely more costly than any modern publications of similar weight avoirdupois, whilst, on the other hand, there is scarcely any author of merit on the continent previous to the present century, whose works are not now printed and circulated in editions later than 1801. Those who know which editions of Lessing, or of Schiller, are the most common in Germany, or which of Molière, or Voltaire, are most frequently met with in France, will have before them instances of this notorious fact. If the principle of the distinction be the supposed inferiority in value of old books, it seems fallacious; for people in general, when they buy foreign books, are sensible enough to buy those of worth, and we greatly doubt whether the refuse of the book-stalls on the quay of the Louvre would ever find its way to London, even duty free. If the object be the encouragement of older literature, at the expense of more modern productions, that object is not attained; for the high duty is that which most commonly attaches upon books of merit written previous to the present century, for the reasons above stated. The profit of the fisc, however, was probably the only motive that suggested the alteration; as, the great mass of old books being imported for the express purpose of being brought to the hammer, the government has no doubt found it a most advantageous exchange to receive the amount of the auction duty on the actual value in lieu of the trifling produce of an import duty, which was so high as to operate as a prohibition.

There is something which savours of barbarism in the system of taxing literature by the pound. But, passing by this, and granting for argument's sake, that books, considered merely as the raw material of knowledge, ought to contribute to the revenue on

importation, it is still extremely questionable whether a duty by weight is the fairest and most proper mode of charge. Books of similar weight differ so prodigiously in price, that an *ad valorem* duty would suggest itself as preferable, if it were not for the many difficulties and evasions to which that description of duty has constantly been found to be subject. A plan might certainly be contrived of levying the duty by weight, conditionally, in reference to the scale of value, but this would perhaps be found too complicated, and too tedious in the process of ascertainment. Books, like many other articles, seem to be in that dilemma with respect to the customs, that, if charged otherwise than by weight, the revenue would be likely to be defrauded, and on the other hand, whilst the duty by weight continues, it falls upon importers unequally, and therefore inconsistently with sound and just principles of taxation.

But, after all, the great objection to the duty is, that it is bad in policy, and that, if it were otherwise, it is much too heavy. A tax of ten-pence three farthings per pound, is equivalent upon many books to a hundred per cent. and in no case to less than ten per cent. This, added to the costs of carriage, freight, insurance, brokerage, &c. is a heavy discouragement to importation in the way of trade, for sale in this country; and we confess we are surprised that the foreign booksellers can afford to supply books from abroad at the rate they do,—being, for French books, for instance, at the charge to the customer of a shilling for every *franc* of the publication price. The import trade has not been a thriving one, as we shall presently show, and when this is considered, as well as the vexation and trouble given to passengers by the levy of the duty upon their small purchases for private use, there can be little doubt, we suppose, of its unpopularity amongst the class of persons immediately affected by it. Throughout Germany, and in the Netherlands, the books of travellers pass duty free, it being considered quite as reasonable that a man should carry a supply of books with him on his journey, as clothes, or shaving apparatus, or any other part of his equipment. The French, who do not read our books, or visit our country, to any thing like the extent we do theirs, have also long since set us an example of liberality, which those who are fond of reproaching the French tariff in general would do well to note as worthy of praise. Since 1817, the duty on new foreign books imported into France is only eleven francs the 100 kilograms,—old books belonging to travellers being exempt from duty altogether. Now, as a kilogram is equal to about 2*lbs.* 2½*oz.* avoirdupois, the French duty comes as nearly as possible to five shillings a hundred weight, *so that ours is just twenty times*

heavier than theirs. Truly, this matter should be set to rights, before we again boast to M. St. Cricq of the philosophical superiority of our commercial policy!

It appears from official accounts, that the quantity of foreign books imported into the United Kingdom for the last ten years, with the amount of duty received thereon, has been as follows:—

Years.	Cwts.	qrs.	lbs.	£	s.	d.
1821 . .	2294	1	21 . . .	12,987	8	9
1822 . .	2323	1	8 . . .	13,027	11	4
1823 . .	2881	1	17 . . .	15,342	8	8
1824 . .	3356	0	4 . . .	17,237	17	3
1825 . .	4651	1	26 . . .	17,095	18	6
1826 . .	3154	1	3 . . .	10,785	3	8
1827 . .	3345	0	3 . . .	11,133	2	5
1828 . .	3270	0	13 . . .	11,026	18	1
1829 . .	3019	0	14 . . .	11,400	8	2
1830 . .	3441	3	13 . . .	11,865	4	4

The quantity of books imported for several years past appears thus, *primâ facie*, to have been stationary; but if we observe the amount of duty, we see that it has considerably fallen off since the last alteration. Now the fact of a greater fall of duty than is proportionate to the fall of the quantity imported, shows clearly that it is the importation of new books printed since 1801 which is less than it used to be. The conclusion follows, that the *high* duty has tended as directly to check the importation of *new* books, as the *low* duty to increase the importation of *old* ones. It is unfortunate that the public accounts have not distinguished the produce of the two rates of duty; but it is nevertheless manifest that the *old lamps* have obtained a considerable ascendancy, in our market, over the *new ones.**

It appears then that the book duty has tended to check the importation of the modern productions of foreign literature into this kingdom—that it is enormously high in comparison with the French duty—and that it is imposed upon travellers and persons not in the trade, with a want of liberality which characterizes the tariff of scarcely any European sovereign, except, perhaps, Don Miguel and the Pope. Under such circumstances, it seems to be time for the government to consider, whether the advancement of science and literature among us be not an object, for the sake of which the abolition of this duty would be highly desirable. We say the *abolition*, because, when the diffusion of knowledge is

* If the amount of the *auction* duty on old books imported and sold since 1825 could be ascertained and added to the above, we have no doubt that it would be found, as we have already said, to have amply made up to the revenue the deficiency which these returns exhibit in the produce of the *import* duty since that period.

concerned, we are entitled to place the question on a higher ground than that of finance, though in a financial point of view it might be probable that a reduction from elevenpence to a penny or twopence per pound would eventually add to the revenue, by increased importation. But the whole amount collected is now and always would be so inconsiderable, that the expense of collection, and the inconvenience to the public, would clearly bring it within that class of duties whose total repeal has been advocated with so much force and reason by philosophical financiers, and especially by Sir Henry Parnell and Mr. Poulett Thomson. We repeat, therefore—away with this tax altogether, and let the British public have the full advantage of the literature of foreign nations. Of late years our tariff has, in many instances, been relaxed for the encouragement of the arts and sciences, as in the case of pictures, which now pay only a shilling the square foot—of prints, which are rated at only a penny each—of sculptured stone, rated at two shillings and sixpence per cwt.—of manuscripts, charged only twopence per pound—and of specimens illustrative of natural history, which are admitted duty free. The principle of all these alterations applies *a fortiori* to books—without which science cannot exist—which in the useful arts are more important than the very tools of the artist, and which are in fact the substratum upon which human intellect must of necessity be reared and cultivated. Laws, therefore, which impede the cultivation of the human mind, are disreputable to a government able to appreciate the blessings arising from the growth of knowledge in a nation; and we do hope that long time will not elapse before attention is directed to this subject in the place where it can be mentioned with most effect. At all events we shall have done our duty, by not suffering it to pass unnoticed in this journal.

How far it may be politic to continue the existing prohibitions of foreign editions of books originally printed in Great Britain, the copyrights of which have either expired or are still subsisting, is a question not necessarily connected with our present subject, however deserving it may be of consideration. Printers and paper-makers are almost the only persons interested in the first, on which we may remark, that the editions of our standard authors printed abroad are seldom executed in a way to make them dangerous rivals to those produced at home, in any other point of view than their comparative cheapness.* Were the government to take off the paper duty, not only might the prohibition in question be safely effaced from the Statute Book, but a stimulus would be given to an important branch of industry,

* We, of course, do not undervalue some few beautiful specimens of typography published by Messrs. Galignani.

which is now languishing; and we should soon see the English editions driving the foreign ones out of their own markets. The case, however, is very different with works of which the copyright is still subsisting. These, as we all know, are protected by law against *domestic piracy*, and, so long as such protection continues, it is quite consistent that they should be equally guarded against *foreign invasion*. The effect of either doing away, or modifying, the prohibition against importing foreign editions of such books for sale, would be to render the statute for their protection a dead letter; and we should not forget that some shield of protection has been thrown over the interests of its authors by every country we know of, which boasts of any pretensions to a national literature.

But, as we have just said, these are matters quite unconnected with the repeal of the foreign-book duty, which, we are convinced, would very soon be effected, if the friends of the diffusion of knowledge would only press the subject firmly and energetically upon the consideration of the government.

CRITICAL SKETCHES.

ART. X.—*Opïite v' Stikhakh i Prosæ Konstantina Batiushkova.* (Essays in Poetry and Prose, by Constantine Batiushkov.) In 2 vols. 8vo., St. Petersburg.

CONSTANTINE BATIUSHKOV, one of the most elegant and amiable writers Russia can boast, was born at Vologda in the year 1787, but was educated at St. Petersburg, where he enjoyed the advantage of having his studies directed by his uncle, M. N. Muraviev, an elegant and accomplished scholar, a philosopher, and a tasteful, although not eminently-talented poet. To the lessons of this able and affectionate instructor we may justly attribute much of that chastened taste and refined polish, both of diction and sentiment, which pervade all our author's compositions, and render them such delightful models of a classical Russian style. Like most of his countrymen, no sooner had Batiushkov terminated his studies, than he entered the army, and made his first campaign in 1806, when he received a severe wound in the foot from a shot. After having been promoted on his return home, he once more left the leisure of the capital, for active—and, as it proved, severe—military service in Finland, which was terminated only by the treaty of peace with Sweden. Appointed librarian of the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, he now seemed to be settled in a post congenial to him; but this interval of repose was of short duration, for the year 1812 roused every Russian patriot, and Batiushkov joined his companions in arms, as a captain of the staff, nor did he quit them until he had witnessed the entry of the allies into Paris. Fresh honours awaited him on his return to his native country, where he was rewarded by an appointment in the college for foreign affairs, in 1818, in which year he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Naples. There he is reported to have been seized with a deep and settled melancholy, which, if not attended with decided aberration of intellect, at least incapacitated him for the duties of an active life, and prematurely interrupted a literary career, from the continuance of which his countrymen might justly anticipate many fresh accessions of fame to him, and for themselves the advantage of its reflected lustre.

These two volumes comprise nearly all that has appeared from his pen. It is true they are a collection of mere miscellaneous pieces, and, if estimated according to their bulk alone, will seem but scanty contributions to the comparatively scanty literature of his country. To say the truth, voluminousness is not the vice either of the poets or prose-writers of Russia. Whatever be their other failings or demerits, they may generally lay claim to the virtue of brevity. Setting aside, however, this seeming sterility, which forms a striking contrast to the hundred-volumed authorship of other countries, and estimating their contents by their intrinsic value, and the evidences they give of a feeling and highly cultivated mind, these volumes will be found well deserving of attention.

Among the prose pieces, which occupy the first of them, we should point out as those that have more particularly interested ourselves, "An Evening with Prince Kantemir;" "Some observations on the writings of Muraviev;" and "A Visit to the Academy of Arts." In the "Evening," the author has given us an imaginary conversation between the Prince (who was then ambassador at Paris) and the President Montesquieu, and has put into the mouth of the former an able defence of his countrymen against the prejudices entertained by his celebrated visitor. The eloquence is not merely that of language, but that of the heart—of an enlightened and generous patriotism. Of Muraviev, his relationship to whom we have already mentioned, he speaks perhaps in warmer terms than would be dictated by stern criticism, but such as by no means compromise his taste, while they reflect honour on his moral character; although not distinguished by fervour of imagination or energy of thought, the poetical compositions of Muraviev attest at least what may be accomplished by the charms of purity of style, combined with purity of thought. It is true they are redolent of the lamp, and seem rather to be elaborated by patient study, than the outpourings of genuine enthusiasm. There is, nevertheless, a captivating moral grace shed over them, perhaps even more to be admired than all those æsthetical beauties which may be discovered in productions whose superior poetical qualities cannot be denied, but whose influence is of a somewhat questionable nature. The "Visit to the Academy of Arts" would be valuable, were it merely for the information it affords relative to some of the most noted artists of Russia,—Yegorov, Kiprensky, Varnik, &c.; independently of which, his remarks on painting convince us that Batiushkov was fully capable of appreciating, and entering with real feeling into the beauties and excellencies of that art. Among the other papers, are an "Essay on Ariosto and Tasso," and another on Petrarch; but these, able as they are in themselves, cannot be supposed to possess that interest for us, which similar pieces of criticism on poets of his own nation would have had. The only sketch of the kind we here meet with, consists of a few pages devoted to the character of Lomonosov, which cause us to regret that he did not enter into the subject more fully, and likewise that he should not have bestowed similar notices on some of the other bards of Russia.

Let us now open his other volume, and consider Batiushkov himself in his character of poet. To superior purity of language, he adds a mellifluous harmony of versification, accompanied with an elegance of expression rarely to be met with in his predecessors. Like his prose pieces, none of his poetical compositions are of any great length, nor, with one or two exceptions, are they at all remarkable for originality or interest of subject. By far too great a proportion of them, in fact, consists of translations or imitations; and although we cannot but admire the taste and skill with which he has transferred the elegiac strains of Tibullus and Propertius into his native idiom, we should have been far better pleased, had he given freer scope to his muse, instead of making her, to the extent he has done, merely the interpreter of sentiments which must inevitably lose a portion of their interest, if not always of their spirit,

by being divested of their original costume. Ancient ideas and expressions can never be perfectly transfused into a modern language: they cannot be made so completely to amalgamate with it, as not to remind us disagreeably of the sensible difference between the thoughts themselves and the vehicle employed to convey them. It is sufficient that Batiushkov has shown us, by his productions of this class, that the Russian language is inferior to no other modern idiom in that plaintive sweetness which is the charm of elegiac poetry, and that it is capable of expressing with felicity the tenderer emotions of the soul. When he ceases to be an imitator, and follows the impulse of his own fancy, or his own feeling, we confess that we like him all the better, and can praise him more cordially. It is not frequently, indeed, that he has thus indulged, but the few productions of this stamp he has given us are nearly all master-pieces in their respective styles. His Ode—or whatever other designation may be given it—"To my Penates" is known to many English readers, it being one of the specimens in the first volume of Bowring's "Russian Anthology;" and we may add that the translation is at once accurate and spirited. Instead, however, of merely enumerating, or, at the best, laying before our readers a catalogue raisonné of his other pieces, we shall speak at once of his "Dying Tasso," or rather, let it speak for itself; doing no more than performing the office of interpreter, to the best of our ability, and we hope not entirely to the dissatisfaction of our readers. Having, however, already trespassed beyond the limits that can be allowed in this department of our Review, we shall confine ourselves to a single remark, which is, that the analogy of subject between this piece and Byron's "Lament of Tasso" may impart to it an interest in the eyes of an English reader, which may in some degree atone for what it has lost by our pen.

THE DYING TASSO.

What means this pomp?—for whom doth seven-hill'd Rome,
The pontiff city, solemn rites prepare?
Wherefore do censers blaze with cloudy foam
Of fragrant myrrh?—for whom these honours rare?
And wherefore Flora's rainbow harvest strew'd
O'er every path that to the towering shrine,
The Capitol, conducts; while tapestries line,
And purple webs each street, in festive mood?
Those shouts that curl old Tiber's sluggish stream,
And wake him from his many-vision'd dream,—
What Cæsar, or what Consul do they greet;—
What victory herald thus from street to street?
For whom doth Peter's triple-mitred heir
That leafy crown in solemn state thus bear?
Nor conqueror, nor king receives that prize:
For Salem's bard it shines; for him arise
The loud acclaims that echo to the cell
Where with death struggling great Torquato lies,
Vanquish'd, yet victor o'er that foe so fell.
Already o'er his couch hangs hovering Fate,
Black-pinion'd monster, who his prey assails
With sure yet lingering aim.—Nor prayer prevails,
Nor tear of friendship, nor the boon too late

By niggard Fortune granted :—all are vain,—
Death awe not, nor his lifted hand restrain.
Yet is that martyr spirit seen with gladness
To hail this hour ; the grave itself seems sweet,—
A sheltering haven from a life of sadness—
From phrenzied woes with every pang replete.
The port he nears with shatter'd bark, yet glorious ;
Wreck'd, yet not conquer'd—though despoil'd, victorious :
One farewell, swan-like strain to life, to love,
To song,—one sigh, and then he soars above!

" Vain is the wreath of honour Rome presents :
The spoiler comes ; and fortune now relents
Too late : his fatal dart will turn
That coronal—that gaud, to a sepulchral urn.
Still o'er my couch a gleam of glory throws
This triumph pageant.—Ere for ever close
These eyes, give them to view thy hills, O Rome!
Of mighty heroes once the dreaded home,
And in decay majestic ; for thy walls
All-eloquent, thy ruins touch the soul ;
And the eternal Tiber's waters roll
As rich in fame as when their youthful tide
Saw laurell'd consuls on his banks preside.
Farewell, ye deathless glories ; you no Fate appals ;
Farewell!—I may not tread that dome august,
Time-honour'd Capitol!—my path's the grave—the dust.
Yon shouts I may not hear;—the silent tomb
Receives me, and, instead of bay, my doom
Prepares far other chaplet—cypress leaf.
" 'Tis well!—I have been heritor to grief
E'en from my cradle, and have prov'd the mock
Of envious Fortune, through a life of woe ;
While persecution track'd me like a foe
Determin'd:—but 'tis past—each blow, each shock.
Youth saw me banish'd—a sad exile wander:
Sorrento! thou beheldst me early torn
From her embrace than whose I found no fonder,
From hers who bore me ;—frequent saw me mourn
Italia heedless ; while my daintiest cheer
Was but a crust—and dry, save for a tear.
—Years pass'd—years chang'd me ; but fate alter'd not.
As of my boyhood, of my prime the lot ;—
My path with pitfalls undermin'd,—o'erhead
The thunder menaced, and its black wing spread
Sorrow's dark cloud. In vain from land to land
My course I shifted, sorrow followed still :
No change ! except that worse succeeded ill.
It seem'd as if fate's finger with a brand,
Like Cain, had mark'd me; for beneath the shed
Of toiling hind, or in thy princely halls,
Alfonso,—in the vale, or on the hill,
Was refuge none. Unknown, or known to fame,
In every fortune was my lot the same ;
Still persecution's mark ; and lo! what fiends,
What scorpion-fiends within Ferrara's walls

Await me;—Love!—Despair my bosom rends,
Tortures my brain, and racks my heart, and bends
My spirit to the earth. Was this the meed
Destin'd for song?—But it is past—I'm freed!
Rome honours me, and friendship soothes; decreed
For this my brow a more than monarch's crown,
Bright guerdon, and an earnest of renown
For long futurity. Ambition's noble lust
Is gratified; each task the muse assign'd
Accomplish'd; and though may never bind
That wreath my brow, it crowns my name—my bust!
" From youth the muse's votary, undismay'd
Or by oppression or neglect, I paid
My homage: love and song sustain'd my mind.
In princely bower, or in the dungeon gloom
Song was my vital cheer,—here fate had no controul;
'Twas song illum'd my cell—will consecrate my tomb.
No! although drench'd with gall hath been my bowl,
Life hath not been all bitterness, for feelings
To rapture wrought, prophetic, high revealings
Of more than mortal bliss, entranc'd my soul.
Inspired I beheld the holy shrine,
And each fam'd site of hallowed Palestine.
Visions of Jordan's stream, and Salem's towers,
The cross's mailed champions, and the bowers
Of the enchantress, fair Erminia's flight,
Rinaldo like Achilles in the fight,
And passion's conqueror through celestial might—
These cheer'd my darkness, and to-day they lent
Fresh lustre. Then, the mental bandage rent,
I saw, enraptur'd, summon'd by my power,
Arise the glorious shades; and from that hour
They live—nor shall I perish, if a name
Be life!—Hail! heroes of the cross! my song
Raised you from time's abyss: I call'd—ye came—
And shall remain: to fame ye now belong:
Oblivion's mists no more your memories dim.
But ah! for me too late bestows the wreath,
Imperial Rome, my brow to grace, beneath
Yon dome august. It may not be:—that hymn
Wafted from high, of more than earthly sound,
Calls me in other spheres to be encrown'd.
" One day of triumph fate hath given—the last
Of this my toilsome pilgrimage:—'tis past—
Yon sinking sun descends, and darkness shrouds
These eyes, envelop'd in death's gathering clouds.
Of that bright orb no more they view the blaze:
Yet 'tis not midnight gloom: through circling rays
Lo! Eleanora beckons, while she waits,
As for a lingering bridegroom doth a bride,
With chiding smile, at heaven's empyreal gates!"

Fled the freed spirit:—Italy deplores
Too late the bard at once her shame and pride;
While wailing Rome her vain laments outpours,
'Reft of the glory to her Capitol denied.

ART. XI.—*Historical Scenes of the Columbian Revolution. Scene* 1. Unpublished.*

THE CONSPIRACY OF 1828.

ON the third of January, 1828, an extensive Royalist conspiracy was discovered in Venezuela, in which hundreds of persons, distinguished by their rank or the employments they held under the Columbian government, were implicated. Never, since 1824, was the Republic in such imminent danger. General Barradas, at the head of eleven thousand chosen troops, had arrived with a strong naval squadron from Coruña at Puertorico, where Admiral Laborde had been directed to join him with the fleet under his command, in order to effect in conjunction a descent on the coasts of Venezuela. It was on this co-operation that the Spanish conspirators founded their principal hopes. Generals Paez and Arismendi, by their courage, vigour, and prompt measures, saved the Republic from civil war. The conspiracy was defeated, and about three hundred persons, one half of whom, at least, were ecclesiastics, were shot on the fourth, fifth, and sixth of January. The great strength of the conspirators lay at Caraccas, where General Paez commanded. He is momentarily gone to La Guayra (distant only about six hours' ride from Caraccas), to endeavour to save the lives of two of his foster brothers, who are implicated in the conspiracy. He has had on this subject a violent altercation with Arismendi (Commander-in-chief of La Guayra), who is inflexible. The following scene takes place at La Guayra, and is of strict historical truth.

Dramatis Personæ.

GENERAL PAEZ.
GENERAL ARISMENDI.
A MONK.
OFFICERS.

(Eight o'clock in the evening. Long and low hall in the house of Arismendi, with windows secured by strong iron bars—and no other furniture except in middle a table covered with papers, and some arm-chairs around. ARISMENDI

* This fragment has been sent us by a foreign contributor, who was for several years an officer in the service of the Columbian republic, and had opportunities of collecting many interesting documents and materials for the history of the distinguished men and the memorable transactions of that eventful struggle, which terminated in the separation of these provinces from Spain. These he proposes to embody in a work, of which the fragment which we have here printed may serve as a specimen. We regard it as extremely interesting in two points of view—first, as a most striking and characteristic sketch of itself; and second, as exhibiting a proof of facility in writing English to which few foreigners attain. The corrections we have made in the author's MS. are few and slight.

We cannot let slip the opportunity of noticing with the commendation it deserves, a little work recently published by an English officer in the same service, in three vols., entitled, *Campaigns and Cruizes in Venezuela*, &c., and *Tales in Venezuela;* the object of which is in some degree similar to that of our own correspondent. The *Tales*, especially, which form the latter portion of the work, possess great merit for the graphic and striking manner in which they bring before us the peculiarities of the social and individual character of the various races of Spanish South America, and the extraordinary and romantic incidents attendant upon the mortal struggle for their freedom, which was finally successful.

sits smoking at the head of the table. Lower down are two officers writing. Two yellow wax candles are burning in a two-branch old iron candlestick, and shed a feeble and flickering light around. A non-commissioned officer, sword in hand, is walking up and down before the door.)

An Officer (entering). General, a monk wishes to speak with you.

Arism. What is his name?

Officer. He refuses to tell it, but pretends to have matters of the highest import to communicate.

Arism. Let him come in.

(Officer exit. A Monk of tall stature, his cowl lowered over his face, enters and stops near the door.)

Arism. What do you want, Padre—my time is short, what have you to say?

Monk. Important secrets to reveal!

Arism. Speak on.

Monk. I cannot before witnesses.

Arism. These are faithful officers of the republic—explain yourself without fear.

Monk. What I have to say is intended solely for the ear of General Arismendi.

Arism. (After a moment's hesitation, which he has employed in surveying the monk, turns to the officers and beckons them to go out—they obey—then turning again to the Monk.) Now, Padre.

Monk. And that one. *(Pointing with his hand to the sentinel at the door, who continues his round.)*

Arism. He belongs to the Irish legion, and does not understand a word of Spanish—speak without fear—but before every thing else, your name?

Monk. My name? ah! it is long, long since it has been pronounced in the walls of La Guayra *(suddenly approaching the table, and throwing back his cowl).* Juanito, dost thou not know me?

Arism. Good God, can it be possible! Padre Ramon de Suza—my ancient Mentor? *(He rises hastily, and offers him his hand—the Monk retreats a few paces backwards.)*

Monk. Hear me first .... *(sitting down slowly on one of the arm-chairs, and beckoning Arismendi to return to his place)* .... yes—it is I indeed—once the respected Abbot of Santa Martha, now the proscribed Padre José.

Arism. You Padre José? José, the chief of the servile conspiracy? Unhappy man, and what do you seek here?

Monk. Hear me—Expelled from this country by the impious decree which despoiled the convents and sent adrift its holy inhabitants, I resolved to consecrate the remnant of my life to the deliverance of my country from the tyranny of the wicked, ambitious, and remorseless traitors, who have enslaved it under the pretext of liberty. *(Arismendi wishes to interrupt him—the Monk lays his hand on the arm of the General, and continues in a quicker tone.)* I sailed for Spain, and after numberless privations and dangers of every kind, I arrived at last at Madrid, and had the happiness of beholding and conversing with our sovereign Don Fernando the Seventh, whom God long preserve! to him I represented the sufferings of my poor country, and received full powers to employ in its deliverance every means within my reach. If I succeed, the glory be to God Almighty—if I fall, like the three youths in the furnace of Babylon, I will still sing *Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna! (rising abruptly).* Juan Arismendi, in thy hands are the destinies of thy country. Bleeding and suppliant, she stretches her arms towards thee—wilt thou spurn her prayers? Shake off the ignoble livery of her demagogical rulers which thou now wearest, trample these cursed ensigns under thy feet, and deserve the title of our modern Cortez, of the second conqueror of America!

Arism. Enough, fanatical Monk; what darest thou to propose to me? Dost

thou not know that Davila, Gutierrez, Revillagigedo, Salmon, with most of their accomplices, are arrested, condemned, and on the point of being led out to their final doom? Dost thou not know that the holy cause of liberty has triumphed all over Venezuela, over the powerless machinations of a few satellites of the Spanish tyrant?—tremble for thyself——

Monk. Tremble for myself?—ah! The same hand which delivered Daniel from the hungry lions will protect and defend me. Once more, Juanito, I repeat, in thy hands are the destinies of America; for thy own, for thy country's sake, think well of it. Upon thee it depends to render thy name glorious, immortal, in this world and in the next! The garrison of this fortress is entirely devoted to thee—I know it; Paez is only accompanied by a few *Llaneros;* let the gates of the fortress be shut, arrest him, hoist the sacred banner under which Spain so often triumphed over her enemies—let it but float one hour on the battlements of this town, and the whole of Venezuela will follow thy example. Venezuela is sick of her rulers, and waits but for the signal to shake off her chains; perhaps, at the very moment I am speaking, Admiral Laborde has landed the Spanish army, and Barradas is in full march towards Caraccas. (ARISMENDI *tries to interrupt him—the Monk, taking from under his robe a large parchment, continues in a still more animated tone.*) See, see here is the signature of our blessed king himself; here is the royal seal of Castile; by this I am empowered to name thee captain general of Venezuela, and, perhaps, hereafter, thou mayst even obtain the viceroyalty of Granada!

Arism. Enough, provoker!

Monk. Duke of Terranova and Grandee of Spain——

Arism. Avaunt, tempter! and bethink thee that thou wilt have dearly to pay for this insult.

Monk. Juan, I know thy ruling passion—it is Mammon; he is the Baal to whom thou kneelest daily—so let it be; the mines of *Cauca* for fifty years—for a hundred years——

Arism. Vile slanderer! I despise thee and thy offers.

Monk. Juanito—(*approaching and speaking in a lower tone*)—vengeance is sweet, it is heavenly! God permits it when its end is just, and he calls himself "the God of Vengeance;" Paez, the vile mulatto Paez, insulted thee this very morning—thee, a white man and a noble; I know it. Avenge thy wrongs!

Arism. (*Rising with violence.*) By the Mother of God! thou hast lied, Monk; the honour of Juan Arismendi is bright and unsullied as the blade of this sword; whoever had insulted me, white or mulatto, would not have been living an hour after, or this arm would be powerless and incapable of handling a sabre.

Monk. Hardened sinner, die then in thy impenitence! God himself spoke to thee through me; thou refusest still to comply with His will; the penalty be on thy head. Farewell!

Arism. Hold, Monk! from hence it is not permitted thee to stir.

Monk. Freely I came here—freely I have the right to depart.

Arism. Stay! I arrest thee as an outlaw, who has broken his ban, a conspirator, and traitor to the republic.

Monk. Juan, Juan, can it be possible? Canst thou have the courage to condemn to infamy these white hairs?

Arism. I do my duty.

Monk. Oh! it is impossible that thou meanest what thy mouth utters. Juanito! I will sail for Europe, for Spain, for any place thou mayest fix, at this very instant, if thou orderest it.

Arism. You should have remained in Spain while you were there; now it is too late.

Monk. Oh, no! no! thou canst not have the courage to devote these white hairs to infamy—to the executioner. No! thou couldst not have the courage to doom to an ignominious death him who first directed thy faltering steps—him who first opened to thee the portals of science—him who so often carried thee as an infant in these arms—him, before whom, kneeling at the holy tribunal of confession, thou openedst thy young and innocent heart.

Arism. Padre, I am a general of the republic.

Monk. It is not that I fear death; God is my witness, that before now I braved it more than once—but the executioner—the rope—the fatal rope, ah! and then how much good could I not still do in this world! I hear a confused stamping of feet, a clattering of iron heels—it is Paez—it is he—accompanied of his satellites. Juanito, Juanito, save me! by the mother who bore thee in her womb, who loved thee so well, and whose eyes I closed on her death-bed, save me! oh, save me!—a moment yet, and it is too late!

Arism. Padre, on the altar of liberty I sacrificed every thing; a wife whom I adored,* two boys who were the joy of my life, tranquillity, fortune, happiness—all, all have I sacrificed; the only thing which still binds me to life is the hope of consolidating the freedom of Columbia. I can do nothing for you.

Monk. Deus in adjutorium meum intende!

Paez. (Enters, holding in his hand some despatches, several officers following him.) General, good news—all is right—Admiral Foster writes that the whole coast of Venezuela is clear, and that he has seen the fleet of Laborde a hundred miles off, under full sail, steering for the Havannah.†

Monk. Almighty God! thy decrees are inscrutable.

Paez. (*Perceiving the Monk.*) But whom have we here? A *gusano* of Spain?‡ Who is he? What does he seek here?

Arism. (*In a hollow voice.*) Death!

Monk. Now, I am lost indeed. Oh, my God! *fiat voluntas tua. (advancing resolutely towards the light.)* Who am I? Once the exalted Ramon de Suza, now Friar Josè, come here in search of martyrdom.

Paez. How so? Canst thou be the Josè whose name stands at the head of this list? *(Showing him at the same time a list of the Secret Association of the Rosario.)*

Monk. Ah! we are betrayed and sold. Holy Virgin! who could have suspected a traitor amongst us!

Paez. (To Arismendi.) And so, here is the ancient friend of your father, the Abbot of Santa Martha.

Arism. As your excellency sees.

Paez. (Drawing Arismendi towards one of the windows.) Arismendi, give me your hand, take mine, and let us forget our recent altercation. I can well understand your feelings for this misguided monk; well—let us make an agree-

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* The romantic adventures of Madame Arismendi are known all over America, and form the theme of many a ballad. While bathing she was taken prisoner by the Spanish army under Morillo, then besieging La Marguerita, sent to Cadiz, confined in the prison destined to galley slaves, escaped from it in the disguise of a British sailor, and, after a thousand hair-breadth escapes, at last reached her family in safety; but died not long after, a victim to the anxieties and sufferings of every kind which she had endured.

† Strictly historical. The conduct of Laborde on this occasion is, and will probably long remain a riddle; truth obliges us to add, that the treasury of the Republic was at that epoch in too wretched a condition to allow the suspicion of his having been bribed; probably the solution must be looked for in the orders, counter-orders, and never-ending intrigues of the members of the Spanish cabinet at that time.

‡ *Gusano de Espana*—a worm of Spain—a nick-name given to monks in Venezuela.

ment—be the fate of your monk that of my two foster-brothers. What do you say?

An Officer (entering.) Excellency, the hour fixed for the execution is arrived—every thing is ready—what is your pleasure?

Paez. (To Arism.) What do you say, General?

Arism. Let the doom proceed.

Paez. And the monk?

Arism. Let him die.

Paez. So be it, and may his soul go to the deepest pit of hell. (*To the officer.*) You have heard, sir—take with you this holy padre, and let him pass the first; it is the least we can do for him.

Monk. Bloodthirsty tiger! Grant me at least half an hour. I ask *confession.*

Paez. A holy man, like thee, can have no sins to confess. Forward!

Monk. Impious and cruel tyrants, my blood be on your heads! (*Exit.*)

Paez. The blood of traitors is the dew of liberty.

(*Arismendi sits down at the table, and buries his face in his hands—Pause of some minutes—A Flourish of drums is heard, and then a volley of musket shots.*)

Arism. (*Striking his forehead with his hand.*) Ah! it is long since I thought that sound could ever again inflict on me a pang—but it matters not—(*Rising suddenly.*)—VIVA LA PATRIA!

All the others. VIVA LA PATRIA! MUERTE A LOS TIRANOS!

ART. XII.—*Die Seeraüber.* ("The Pirates.") Von Ernst von Houwald, Leipzig. Göschen, 1831. 8vo.

FOR some time we knew not exactly what to make of Houwald, but his last work satisfies us that beyond a certain point, and that no very exalted one, his muse will never rise. Not in the the purer empyrean, but into the lower atmosphere of the canvas clouds of the theatre; not amidst the fresh breath and incense of nature, but amidst the stifling smoke of stage lamps, or the sulphury gleams of the prompter's magazine of thunder and lightning, is she destined to move. She dazzles you at a distance with the splendor of her robe, and drawing near, you find it nothing but leather and prunella; she is sparkling all over with the pearls of sentiment, but, alas, they prove, upon a nearer inspection, to be paste. The playwright, in short, not the play writer, is becoming every day more visible in Houwald, and he who at first, amidst a profusion of bad taste and exaggerated sentimentality, still promised to raise himself above the heads of ordinary dramatists, is now, we must candidly say, just as unnatural, as melo-dramatic, and as absurd as any of his brethren.

His first performance, the scene of which, if we recollect rightly, was laid in a charnel house, was, as might be expected from the choice of such a locality, a singular enough one; such an effusion, in short, as might be expected from the pen of a goule, seated on a tombstone after a surfeit; full of "all loathsome, all abominable things," but withal vigorous and terrible, seizing on the imagination by force, and compelling it against its will to wander among the crumbling relics of mortality. These "meditations among the tombs" augured well of his power of conception, at least, though not of his taste; and in Germany, where every source of

emotion, however low, however lofty, however revolting, seems to be considered as legitimately within the province of the dramatist, they awakened hopes, which the subsequent career of this young nobleman, we are sorry to say, has by no means fulfilled. Various compositions in prose and verse followed, none of which, we believe, excited much attention till the publication of his Heimkehr, "The Return," a simple but somewhat monotonous drama, depicting the feelings of one supposed to be dead, who, returning from long captivity, finds the wife of his bosom married again, and himself forgotten. This was followed by his "Light Tower," a drama, in the short lyrical measure of Calderon, a tale of the sea, a genuine winter night's dream, the principal charm of which, amidst a crowd of absurdities, was the intensity with which the image of old Ocean, in its calms and storms, was presented to us throughout. "Nothing in it but did suffer a sea change;" the very beating of the billows on the solitary tower seemed to echo in the rise and fall of the verses; and the spectator or reader felt as if chained for a time to some sea-girt isle, from which nothing met his view on any side but the dreary expanse of ocean, in the shade or sunshine, or, far off on the horizon, some solitary sail, deepening the sense of loneliness by seeming to avoid the solitary speck of land on which he is placed. This, we say, was to English readers, the charm, perhaps the solitary charm, of the piece; for the incongruities and absurdities of the plot certainly exceeded all fair bounds of toleration. The spirit of Müllner's "Schuld" appears obviously in the construction of the plot; while the consistency with which the incidents are put together is in the latter case far inferior. A drama, in which the main interest is made to turn upon the extinguishing of the lamps in a lighthouse by pulling a rope; in which the task of watching the said lights is committed to a genuine, undeniable, notorious madman, who, in the midst af a tempest of wind and rain, mounts the top of the tower, harp in hand, to sing his woes, and then, as might be expected, snuffs out this "brief candle" on the first opportunity, the only lantern in the house having been previously carried off; (what would Smeaton or Stevenson, or the commissioners for the Northern lights, say to such a light-house, and such servants?) these, and a thousand other circumstances in the conduct of the plot, betrayed either an utter inability to construct a natural fable, or a monstrous aberration of taste, and an extreme contempt for all those sources of emotion, which experience and real life afford to the dramatist. Yet, as we already mentioned, in spite of all this, the fresh vigorous sea air, as it were, which breathed about the piece, gave it a peculiar character, and ensured it for a time no inconsiderable share of popularity. A powerful imagination too breathed out in many passages, as in that, for instance, where Dorothea, the daughter of the light-house keeper, replies to the observation of her father, that a convent was to be her destination. We use the very close and pointed translation of Mr. Gillies:—

> Father, 'twas not mid flowery sheltering vales,
> But on the cold shores of the sea that thou
> Reardst up thy daughter. Early was I wont
> On Nature's wildest moods to look untroubled.

Thus on the storm and raging floods, when all
Besides were struck with terror, I could gaze
Calmly:—the ocean wild had been my playmate.
Nay, was I not in childhood taught to guide
The helm, and in a tottering bark, alone,
To lose myself far mid the weltering waves,
Till scarcely could thy signals bring me home?
Where too, at morning's fresh and fragrant hour,
The birds with their first matins called me forth
To join in homage, have I not beneath
The boundless dome of heaven, rejoicing, knelt.
Beneath me, murmuring deep, the waves renewed
Their solemn music; clouds came reverently
Ranging themselves along the vasty choir;
Till from the orient too the high priest rose
In festal garments, and from the horizon,
As from an altar, spread his dazzling arms,
Saluting thus the stilly world, Wake! Wake!
Ye habitants unnumbered of the earth,
Awake to love and joy! In me, behold
Heaven's messenger of blessing and perfection!

"Fluch und Segen," "The Blessing and the Curse," may be passed over with a very short notice. It is a domestic story, in which the nodus of the action is—debt. The interest turns on the struggles in the mind of a father, who, on the eve of being thrown into prison for a sum which he is unable to pay, is tempted by an offer of the required amount from a rope-dancer, provided he will make over to him his son that he may employ him in his own degrading profession. The father vacillates between love for his child and anxiety to escape imprisonment; now yielding to the suggestions of fear and interest, now restored to better feelings by the pious eloquence of his wife. At last, just as the boy Moritz, the subject of this mental contest, who has accidentally discovered the dilemma in which his parents are placed, has voluntarily sold himself to the rope-dancer; it is fortunately discovered that the said rope-dancer is the brother of his mother, and so, of course, the whole is wound up in peace and quietness.

This is an unpretending trifle, and though the subject is not of very deep interest, it is, perhaps, the least objectionable of Houwald's plays. It is a sort of mitigated "Twenty-fourth of February;" a far distant echo, as it were, of Werner's thunder, still solemn, but without its terrors. It is also less diffuse, and less lyrical than its predecessors, and altogether, perhaps, we should select this as being the play most likely to raise the character of Houwald in the eyes of an English reader.

A still later production, "Das Bild," (The Portrait,) is a story of a more domestic and quiet cast, rich in beautiful description, and not unfrequently in a soft and solemn pathos, which had been lost or overlooked in the terrors or exaggeration of his earlier works. But the length of the play, (extending to nearly 300 pages,) in which most of the incidents are supposed to have taken place previous to the actual commencement of the action on the stage, and are only learned subsequently in the course of the piece;—(a stage trick which, in truth,

Houwald had already carried much too far in the Light Tower;)—with the unreal, incomprehensible principles of thought and action by which the characters appear to be swayed; seemed to show that Houwald, though he might have approached somewhat nearer to the path of good taste as regarded the subjects of his plays, was rather receding from that of common sense and reality, and plunging deeper and deeper into a cloud-land of his own imagination.

These faults, it would seem, in his last work, "The Pirates," he has been anxious to avoid. Here, to be sure, we have action enough, disguises, escapes, battle, murder, and sudden death;—all the commonplaces of a melo-drama mingled with the sentimentalism of his earlier works; but no consistency or originality of character, and far less poetry than one generally finds in the hasty but vigorous improvisations of Raupach, (to whom, by the way, we owe a notice, which we shall take an early opportunity of paying). In short, we feel assured that Houwald has had a fair trial, and that nothing permanently effective is now to be expected from him. We are aware that a meagre analysis of the leading incidents of a play affords no complete test of its merit; but we think it will be difficult for any one to look at the main points in the one before us, without seeing that out of such materials nothing interesting could be elaborated.

A foundling, named Silvano, at the court of Venice, who has been educated by the Doge, falls in love, as was to be expected, with the daughter of his benefactor, and is rewarded, as might also be expected, with a sentence of banishment as a lesson to his presumption. Flaminia, the daughter of the Doge, is about to be betrothed by her father's desire to Badoero, the son of the former Doge, when an unexpected embassy appears, the chief envoy in which insists on an interview with the Doge alone. Accompanied by another of the party, he begs the hand of Flaminia for the son of the Prince of the Pirates, and his companion, stepping forward with the air of the Beef-eater in the "Critic," suddenly announces himself as being at once the son of the Prince of the Pirates and—Silvano. "Flaminia," he exclaims,

> "shall be
> The future empress of our new-made state.
> Soon shall the forests on Cuzzola fall,
> And where the robber made his lair, a people,
> The friends of Venice, rear their peaceful homes;
> Thus do I come, and thus my debt I pay.
> Think, Father, of thy children's happiness,
> Think, Duke, upon thy realm's tranquillity;
> Cast not my love aside—and with it peace.

This unexpected disclosure, however, has no tendency to remove the Doge's objections, and accordingly, our author, inexhaustible in his surprises as Mr. Puff himself, breaks out upon us with another. The elder plenipotentiary now demands a secret interview, which being granted, he also throws aside the Beef-eater, and discovers himself to the Doge as an old acquaintance and brother in arms, Bartolomeo Caramano! Disappointed by the Doge succeeding in a youthful passion for a young lady of whom he also was enamoured, he had left his native

country in despair; in that to which he betakes him he has the good fortune to meet with his former mistress, now forsaken by the Doge, marries her, and Silvano is the fruit of the marriage. Persecuted on all sides, he had at last turned pirate in self-defence; (not from any turn to robbery, for, like Byron's Lambro, he is

"... the mildest mannered man
That ever scuttled ship or cut a throat,")

but, ever since he has hoisted the red flag, he has been earnestly endeavouring to infuse into the minds of his associates, among whom he has risen to the dignity of leader, a strong desire to come to anchor as it were in a quiet harbour. He concludes by imploring the Doge to further this desirable consummation, by bestowing his daughter on the young Pirate-Prince Silvano, but finds him deaf to his entreaties. Disappointed in this appeal, he proceeds to employ the more powerful eloquence of force. The young Flaminia, and twelve of her companions, are carried off by the pirates to the island castle of Cuzzola, whither they are pursued by the Duke and the disappointed bridegroom. The castle is attacked and burnt, and the robbers, with the exception of Bartolomeo and Silvano, cut to pieces. These two are reserved for the scaffold, and are executed accordingly. Badoero had fallen in the previous contest, and Flaminia puts an end to her life by poison.

This, as our readers will perceive, disposes pretty effectually of the dramatis personæ, the catastrophe being nearly as sweeping as that of "The Amusements of Muley Bugentuf." But for the survivance of the old Doge, "darkness would fairly be the burier of the dead." Of incidents so preposterous, what can be said—but that they are just such as we should expect to meet at the Surrey Theatre or the Coburg? Of the characters, with the exception of the elder Pirate-Prince, we are at a loss to say which is the greatest failure; Flaminia, a compound of dreary sentimentality in the outset, with the wildest extravagance of passion in the issue; the Doge, a being constantly wavering between good and bad, pride and generosity; Badoero, an insignificant cypher, who appears only to fall under the sword of Silvano; or Silvano himself, as uninteresting as heroes proverbially are.

To say the truth, but for Houwald's precious reputation, and a vein of poetry which now and then sparkles out amidst these crudities of character and absurdities of incident, and shows itself in insulated reflections or images which are strikingly expressed, this play would be altogether unworthy of notice. When Bartolomeo fails in his appeal to the haughty Pietro Candiano, Gaspardo observes with truth,

"Such is man.
The guilty laden heart fears strife and hate,
Far less than greatness from his enemy;
Still with the first there is a hope of conquest,
Before the last, we feel that we are vanquished.
Hadst thou before the Doge been hither brought,
A captive bondsman, destined to the block,
His grace, his pardon, had at once been thine;
The conqueror he would be, and not the conquered."

We should do injustice to Houwald, were we not to admit that passages of great lyrical sweetness, and occasionally striking philosophic reflection, occur throughout the play; but we should do still greater violence to the truth, were we not to add that they are altogether insufficient to balance the palpable and pervading absurdity of the piece as a whole.

Art. XIII.—1. *Cecilia di Baone, ossia la Marca Trevigiana al finire del medio evo. Narrazione Storica di P.Z.* (Cecilia of Baone, or the March of Treviso, at the close of the middle ages. An historical Narrative, by P. Z.) 4 vols. Venezia, 1829.

2. *Falco della Rupe, o la Guerra di Musso, Racconto Storico, di Giambattista Bazzoni, Autore del Castello di Trezzo.* (Falco of the Rock, or the War of Musso; an historical tale, by G. Bazzoni, author of the Castle of Trezzo.) 2 vols. Firenz, 1830.

The word "Novel" is, we believe, of Italian origin; but the species of work it was invented to designate, bears little resemblance to that which under its borrowed title delights our idle hours. The Italian *Novello* is merely a short story, sometimes not more than an anecdote, or single incident, told in good, even elegant language, but altogether guiltless of ambitious aspirations after bold conception, nice delineation of individual character, or any sort of moral costume; and too frequently so regardless of the commonest laws of decency, that amongst the many collections of *Novelle* we have at different times met with, few indeed were the tales an Englishwoman could read. Time was, and that not beyond the memory of living men, when the supercilious pedant, the man of the world, whose reading went not beyond a newspaper, and the philosophic moralist, would have joined in the remark, that Italian literature was most rich in such a want; although the last mentioned novel-scorner might perhaps have hesitated in his judgment, when reminded that the hours which Italian ladies were spared the temptation of wasting, like their French, English, and German sisters, in light reading, were by them devoted neither to household cares, the education of their children, nor the cultivation of their minds, but to talking scandal of, and with, their female friends, and to graciously accepting the flatteries of their male admirers,—their only mode of "killing the enemy." But the days in which fiction required to be matured by some hundreds or thousands of summers, ere it might deserve the notice of reasonable men, are past. The brilliant talents that have dedicated themselves to the culture of the lighter flowers of fancy have redeemed the love-tale from contempt, and we have no longer to apprehend the sneering imputation of unmanly frivolity, when we avow our satisfaction at the appearance of new Italian Novels or Historical Romances.

The Historical Romance, or the tricking out the children of the author's brain in the quaint garb and unaccustomed manners of antiquity, is the style that seems to have chiefly seized upon Italian fancy; nor do we wonder thereat. It is far more picturesque and poetic, than the delineation of the "manners living as they rise" with which both writer and

reader are familiar, to say nothing of the fascination of the *one* splendid reputation, that has produced, throughout Europe, such swarms of imitators, That the Italians are the least successful of these imitators is perhaps as little to be wondered at, inasmuch as they are the most unpractised in the mystery of novel writing. Certain it is, however, that, either for that or some other reason, few among them appear to have, as yet, conceived a just idea of that adaptation of an interesting love-tale to some portion of real history, that embodying, that developement of celebrated historic characters in such perfect unison with the little actually known of them, as to impress the reader with a sense of their identity, when they are represented acting and speaking as important agents amidst imaginary incidents, which constitute the essence of the Historical Romance. The strict observance of costume, and the casual introduction of noted personages, seemingly considered by some writers as the main point, are, to our mind, only the colouring of the picture, that gives an appropriate and harmonious tone to the whole, but can never stand in lieu of drawing, grouping, or conception. From this criticism we do not except Rosini, who, in our opinion, merely passes a sort of historical *phantasmogoria* before the eyes of his readers, through the medium of his hero. Manzoni, be it remembered, calls his *Promessi Sposi* not an Historical Romance, but a story of the 17th century. It is not of these chief Italian authors, however, that we are now to speak. We have professed our pleasure in the increasing number of Italian novelists, and from the growing mass of their works we have selected the two before us, both of which possess merit, but illustrate in different ways their authors' defective notions of the compositions they aspire to produce.

The story of *Cecilia di Baone* is, in itself, susceptible of strong interest, as it involves a portion of the life of one of the very remarkable men of the 12th century, Eccelino di Romano,* surnamed the Monk, the head of the Ghibelines, who compelled a large part of what has since borne the name of the Estates of Venice, to own his authority; and it affords ample scope for depicting the manners, opinions, and feelings of those rude days, inasmuch as the subject is the forcible abduction of the formidable Eccelino's wife by a noble of the adverse political faction. The opportunity of displaying his antiquarian lore the author has assuredly not neglected. He describes dresses, arms, festivals, customs, &c. &c. &c. with a minuteness that wearies the attention, not being relieved by any keen sympathy in the loves and sorrows of the personages who give occasion to the introduction of all these matters. In fact, he is deficient in the dramatic power of endowing his characters with such intense individuality as should enable them to command our sympathy as human beings; and his book is, in consequence, rather a very curious, and, we doubt not, faithful picture of the 12th century, than a fascinating tale. Still the story is really interesting, and we could find passages worth extracting; but we do not intend to bestow many pages

* One of our own patrician authors has lately made Eccelino the subject of a quarto Epic.

upon this subject, and infinitely prefer the other publication, to which we now turn.

Falco della Rupe is in every respect different, in its faults as in its merits. Bazzoni evidently possesses both dramatic and graphic powers, and his deficiency seems to lie in the inventive talent, the art of interweaving a romantic love-tale with his well told and well painted fragment of biography. Indeed we do not see what claim *Falco della Rupe* can lay to the title of an Historical Romance, although it certainly contains enough of fiction to exclude it from that of biography; and perhaps Bazzoni meant to renounce the pretension which we, in common with his compatriot critics and editors, have attributed to him, when he called it a *Racconto Storico*, literally an Historical Narrative; a denomination which, we confess, has somewhat puzzled us to understand.

This *Racconto Storico* relates the failure of Gian Giacomo di Medici, better known in history as the Marchese di Marignan, in an attempt to make himself a petty independent sovereign. His battles and political intrigues are relieved by the pure and ardent loves of Gabriele, his younger brother, and Rina, the daughter of Falco, (surnamed *della Rupe*, from having fixed his residence upon a nearly inaccessible rock,) a bold pirate of the Lake of Como, the scene of the whole tale. A great deal of Gian Giacomo's long-successful struggle against his legitimate sovereign, Francesco Sforza Duke of Milan, is painted with vigour, and the graphic spirit belonging to this style of composition. The manners and superstitions of the age are often very happily touched; and many of the love scenes are sweetly pathetic. But love-tale or romance there is none—no startling difficulties, no distressful anxieties, not even a curiosity-stirring interest, is wrought out of the far severed relative stations of the lovers,—the brother of a haughty and ambitious feudal chieftain, and the daughter of a low-born pirate. A frown on the part of Gian Giacomo, when his observation is directed to Gabriele's open show of passion for Falco's beautiful child, is the sole and single notice taken of "too high" being "attached to low;" and, for aught the reader can see, the noble's son and the pirate's daughter might have been just as happily married as though Rina had been Gabriele's equal, but for the unlucky accident of the lover's being knocked on the head in one of his brother's battles. And thus, in point of fact, this unconnected *amourette*, however pleasing, merely diverts the reader's attention from Gian Giacomo, who, as the story is managed, ought to have been prominently the Protagonista. This is manifestly a gross fault in the conception of the work; but the two little volumes possess so much merit of detail, and are so superior to the author's former production (as far as we recollect *Il Castello di Trezzo*), that we feel justified in anticipating further improvement on his part, and shall look forward impatiently to his next attempt. Meanwhile, we shall give a specimen of his talents and style, from an early and tolerably detached scene in *Falco della Rupe*.

Grampo, one of the pirate's crew, has been dangerously wounded in a bold rescue of Gabriele and his tutor, Gian Giacomo's Chancellor, from the Dukists, as the legitimate party of the Duke of Milan are called, who were about to execute summary justice upon their unfor-

tunate prisoners. Grampo is carried to the hovel of his mother Imazza, a notorious witch, whence one of his comrades hastens to solicit the aid of a surgeon-monk, who presides over a neighbouring hospital. Falco, leaving the rescued nobleman and chancellor in his own rock cottage, accompanies the monk and the subordinate pirate to visit Grampo, discussing by the way the probability of saving the wounded man's life by the efficacy of some miracle-working water, in which a nail taken from the true cross has been immersed. As the trio approach the witch's abode, they observe another of the pirate crew,

"Guazzo, standing in a disconsolate attitude, and conversing with two brothers of the confraternity of death, the designation of a religious association, whose office was carrying the dead to their graves.

"When Guazzo saw the three new comers, he exclaimed in a melancholy voice, 'Too late! There is nothing more to be done for him but to lay him under ground.'

"The amazed Trincone made a gesture of vexation on thus beholding his hopes deluded, his labour wasted. The monk, drooping his head, cast down his eyes upon the earth, crossed his arms upon his breast, and recited a prayer. Falco, struck with sorrow, exclaimed in accents of mingled anger and compassion, 'Let me pass! I *will* see him again for the last time. I will swear upon his corse to send more than one of those who have slaughtered him to sleep a sleep eternal as his.'

"In a chamber inclosed by rugged walls, which, like the roof, were blackened with smoke, and scantily lighted by a high and small window, lay the corse of Grampo, half covered with a sheet, upon a bed of planks. His throat was wrapped with bandages steeped in his blood, which, oozing through them, had run upon his breast, where it showed in dark and clotted streaks. By the side of the bed sat an old woman, leaning with her two hands upon a crutch, her eyes immoveably fixed upon that blood. Her teeth gnashed at intervals against each-other, and her limbs trembled convulsively. It was Imazza, the dead man's mother."

The new comers gaze silently upon the body, the mother appearing to be unconscious of their presence, till brother Andrea, (the surgeon-monk) in an injudicious endeavour to console the bereaved woman, observes, that the deceased may perhaps be expecting their prayers to deliver him from the flames of purgatory.

"Old Imazza, turning her head, gave the monk so savage a look that the words died upon his lips; then, with a wrinkling of her cheeks that resembled a sullen grin, she said, 'Free him from the flames! Here is ice. Deliver him from the cold that freezes him! Make him rise up; and be thus no longer cold and heavy as lead!' While thus speaking, she lifted an arm of the dead man, and letting it drop again, was once more absorbed in gazing on him."

Falco then expresses his regrets for his fallen comrade; says that if blood could revive him, he should have plenty, and compassionately advises Imazza to listen to Friar Andrea.

"At these words Imazza shook her head wrathfully, and answered, 'What speakest thou? Why art thou come? Why touch his hand? Was it not as thy companion my Grampo received the wound destined for thee? Was it not thou who led him to death? See thou to console thine own women, who, ere long perhaps, may have a corse yet more disfigured in their cottage; if indeed it be not surrounded by wolves and ravens in lieu of women.'

" 'Silence, accursed witch!' exclaimed Falco, with a disturbed and threatening countenance, and raising his clenched fist against her."

The interposition of the good monk hinders Falco from striking the heart-broken, the distracted, the childless mother. But the bold pirate, who had so often recklessly faced death in every possible form, is chilled with terror by the imprecations of a supposed witch, uttered in the presence of the dead; and the prospect of a splendid recompense for having saved the life of Gian Giacomo's brother can hardly relieve his mind from the fearful presentiments conjured up by Imazza.

With this brief extract we take our leave for the present of the Italian Novelists.

ART. XIV.—*Memoires de* A. Galotti, *Officier Napolitain, condamné trois fois à mort, écrits par lui-même, traduits* par S. Vecchiarelli, Refugié Italien. 8vo. Paris. 1831.

GALOTTI's case made considerable stir some three years ago in the Chamber of Deputies and in the French newspapers. His being forced out of his asylum in Corsica, and given up to the Neapolitan government by Martignac's ministry, cast a blot on that otherwise liberal administration, which they, however, endeavoured to efface by effectively interfering in time to save the prisoner's life. Galotti, however, remained in confinement, or rather was led from prison to prison, subject to the characteristic brutality of Neapolitan jailors, and other agents of power. The sentence of death was at last commuted to ten years confinement in the island of Favignana, on the coast of Sicily. There he remained, until the events of July having changed the councils of France, the new ministers of that country insisted with the Neapolitan cabinet that Galotti should be released, and restored to the place of refuge whence he had been carried off against the law of nations. This was effected in October, 1830, by an order from the late King Francis, which commuted Galotti's imprisonment to ten years banishment from the kingdom; at the same time, the identical brig of war which had conveyed him from Corsica the year before, was now sent to land him on the coast of that island. A just, though tardy reparation, was thus made to the offended honour of France, and to the violated laws of humanity.

Grateful to his liberators, and such he considers to be the "men of July" exclusively, (for he complains, in his preface, that the present ministers have maintained in office the agents of his *extradition*,) Galotti has now written the tale of his vicissitudes, rather a meagre and disjointed narrative, and dedicated it to the "heroes of the three days." He is evidently one of that numerous class of Italian liberals, who possess the will, rather than the means to effect the regeneration of their country. Their schemes, till now, have been concocted with so little wisdom or foresight, and have betrayed such a lamentable deficiency in political and statistical knowledge of their own local circumstances and of those of other countries, that it is no wonder they proved unsuccessful.

Galotti began his political career in 1820. He had long before been initiated into the mysteries of Carbonarism, and was one of the ac-

tive members of the *Vendita*, or lodge, of his native country *Cilento*, a remote district, of about ninety thousand inhabitants, in the province of Salerno, towards the borders of Calabria, where he held the rank of an officer in the local militia. As the conspiracy of 1820 grew ripe, the 29th of May was fixed by the leaders as the day for the explosion all over the province; but our author, "carried away," as he says himself, "by his passion for liberty," raised the standard of insurrection in the village of Masticelli one day too soon, on the 28th of May, and proclaimed the Spanish constitution, of which the good villagers knew probably as much as of the Vedas of Hindostan. During the night, a courier came with orders from the lodge of Salerno to defer the movement altogether, which, in fact, took place only at the beginning of the following July, at Monteforte, in the neighbouring province of Avellino. Galotti was obliged to pull down the flag, pocket his cockade, and return to his home with as little noise as possible. But the affair of Masticelli had not escaped the notice of government: Galotti was arrested and sentenced to military execution, when the Minister of Police, in hopes of drawing from him the threads of the conspiracy, ordered him to be brought to Naples. Upon his examination, Galotti made no disclosures, and was consequently consigned to a dungeon in the castle of St. Eramo, from which the revolution of July, 1820, delivered him. Thus ended our author's first adventure. He was, during the constitutional regime, appointed an officer to one of the provincial legions, and decorated with the Order of St. George. The re-action of 1821 followed; the Austrians occupied the kingdom, meeting with hardly any resistance, and the absolute government was re-established. Galotti was living unmolested with his family; but he was still in active secret correspondence with his friends the Carbonari. The suspicions of the police were aroused, several arrests took place; yet our author continued to attend the meetings which were held at the house of the Sub-Prefect of the district, who was a Carbonaro and Freemason. This man had a handsome wife: he became jealous of Galotti's frequent visits to his house, and denounced him. Galotti declares there was no foundation for his suspicions; but the whole transaction exhibits on what slender foundations honor and patriotism rest in that kingdom. The abominable custom of the country, by which married women are considered as fit objects to be courted and won, just as single women are in other countries, warrants suspicion in the breast of any husband. And this custom prevails especially among the educated classes, out of which all social or political improvement can alone be expected. Galotti was again examined, but no sufficient proofs being found against him, after three years imprisonment, he was liberated. He settled himself in the town of Salerno, where his wife died, and twelve months afterwards he married a wealthy widow. He might now have sat down in domestic retirement, at least until more propitious times should come round.

"But," says he, in the current though unmeaning language of the fatalist school, "the die was cast, and my whole existence was henceforth to be solely employed in hatching fresh conspiracies."—p. 28.

When a man has once made up his mind to such a course, for

better for worse, he is hardly entitled to complain afterwards if disappointment and persecution be his lot. Towards the end of 1825, our author repaired to Naples, where he became intimate with several persons of the same political sentiments, who were consulting on the means of acting

"a new revolutionary drama. Galotti returned to Salerno, to instal a committee, and resume the skilful organisation of Carbonarism, which was not destroyed, but had only lain dormant for several years."—p. 29.

The defection of several liberals rendered him more circumspect in the choice of members for the committee.

"The most energetic men of the country were called to it, whose stedfast adherence to their political doctrines has since brought them all to the dungeon or the scaffold."

They communicated with the committees of other provinces, and Galotti was one of the most active agents of the society.

"In 1828, the central committee of Naples found itself, I know not how, in correspondence with the Greek President, Count Capo d'Istria. The latter promised, that in the event of a new revolution breaking out in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Russia would furnish 20,000 men in order to *liberate* the rest of Italy, where a republican government would be proclaimed under the protection of the Northern Autocrat."

We look upon this as a story imposed on the gullibility of the Neapolitans, by some inferior agent, or would-be agent; for we can never believe that so shrewd a man as the late President of Greece could commit himself so far. And how, or whence could the 20,000 Russians reach Italy? And again, Russia proclaiming a republic in Italy! But the ignorance of statistics and of general political information, to which we have already adverted, is conspicuous in all these Italian affairs.

The government was again on the watch, a priest was arrested, and upon his disclosures the other members of the committee shared the same fate. Galotti being informed in time of this discovery, which he calls *unexpected*, adopted the desperate resolution of breaking out into open insurrection in his native district of Cilento. He was joined by the Canon Deluca and by several monks, a circumstance, the apparent singularity of which may be explained by reflecting that many of the Neapolitan clergy, having unlike those of Spain, lost that wealth and influence, which alone compensated them for the restrictions of their order, now find their existence irksome, and are willing to assist in a change that might liberate them from their rash vows, or at least open a new field to their ambition; this we believe to be the main spring of their liberalism. The 28th of June, 1828, was fixed by Galotti's little band to begin operations, by the attack of the fort of Palinudo, the *Palinurus* of Virgil. The canon had been assured that this insignificant fort contained a considerable supply of ammunition and about fifteen hundred carbines, which would prove a seasonable supply to the insurgents. Galotti went with about fifty men and entered the fort with little or no difficulty, but on looking into the stores he found the powder was damaged and useless, and that the carbines had been removed a

fortnight before to Salerno by order of the government! After this he proceeded to revolutionize the district. He went from village to village, crying out Liberty for ever! and proclaiming *the French constitution*, that is, Louis XVIII's charter! His friend, the guardian of the Capuchins, ascended a platform, and preached to the people upon the rights of man. The mayor and the clergy duly attended, took the patriots to church, the host was brought out, and Te Deum was sung. These are inseparable accompaniments of every Neapolitan insurrection, whether for liberty or absolutism. About two thousand men were soon collected, and a great deal of powder was wasted in *feux de joie*. When it is considered that all this took place in a small district, not twenty miles in diameter, without concert with the other provinces, and while in fact the royalist forces were collecting from all sides to hem in the insurgents, the attempt displays a rashness which appears almost bordering upon insanity. Galotti and the canon were soon apprized of the unwelcome approach of General Del Carretto with eight thousand regular troops, with field pieces, cavalry, &c. Galotti's men were mostly without arms. After one slight skirmish, he was obliged to disband them and throw himself into the forests. The whole course of the insurrection did not last above a week. Galotti wandered about in those wilds, and at last reached the shores of Pœstum, where he met with a fishing boat that took him to Leghorn, from whence he repaired to Corsica, where, being on French territory, he considered himself safe.

We have spoken with some degree of severity of these abortive plots, because we know, that under a despotic government a revolution is no children's play, and we deem it therefore incumbent on those who embark in such enterprizes to calculate well at least their chances before they expose not only themselves, but their families and their poor deluded and ignorant followers, to the risk of destruction. The reaction in the present instance was marked by that character of ferocity and deep and unforgiving revenge, with which so many pages of Neapolitan history are stained. About sixty or seventy individuals, priests, landholders, physicians, and lawyers, were executed. Their families, including females, were subjected to arbitrary fines and imprisonments. The village of Bosco was razed to the ground. Numbers of other persons were thrown into dungeons. Several died in consequence of ill treatment. The fine district of Cilento was utterly desolated. Galotti had escaped, but the Neapolitan government was soon apprized of his place of refuge, and claimed him through means of its ambassador at Paris, as a person guilty, not of *political*, but of *social* crimes, as a *brigand;* in short, some sort of judicial document to that effect was forwarded in support of the demand. In an evil hour the French minister sent orders to the Prefect of Corsica to deliver up Galotti to a Neapolitan brig of war, which had been sent to Bastia for the purpose. An indecent haste seems to have been displayed by the local authorities in effecting his delivery. Upon the warm remonstrances of Galotti's friends, the French ministry despatched a courier to Naples, intimating to that cabinet not to proceed any further against Galotti, at the peril of vio-

lating the laws of nations towards France. They were luckily in time to save Galotti from summary execution. But this was not enough, Galotti might die in his dungeon. An interesting debate took place in the Chamber of Deputies, in June, 1829, of which extracts are given in the appendix to the volume before us. Count Portalis, on the part of the ministers, stated, that he would rather have his hand [wither than sign an order to give up a political refugee, especially with the recollection of what happened to himself and his father when proscribed by the Terrorist faction, which then ruled France, and which had the impudence to require the Swiss government to give up the emigrants, "for," Portalis significantly observed, "it is not by absolute monarchies that such a claim has been first set up." But the French ministers had been shown regular documents signed by competent magistrates, charging Galotti with ordinary crimes against society. To which the late Benjamin Constant replied, that under an absolute government, and especially in the latitudes of Naples and of Lisbon, it was not very difficult to find tribunals and judges that would lend themselves to the wishes of power. And here the Prince of Castelcicala became involved in the question, and the consequence was a suit against several editors of newspapers for defamation of the ambassador. The newspapers, in order to invalidate his diplomatic character, recalled to mind that he had been a member of the junta or state inquisition established at Naples at the end of the last century. Now it appears that Castelcicala sat in a junta from 1796 to 1798, which juntas caused numerous arrests upon ill-grounded suspicions. There was, however, we believe, no sentence of execution passed during that time. Vanni, the head of the junta, a fanatic ultra-royalist, was at last dismissed in disgrace, and the court was dissolved. This junta, however, must not be confounded, as some French writers, and even the editor of this volume, have done, with the sanguinary junta of 1799, which sat after the revolution, and which sent to the scaffold the most distinguished men of Naples. The members of the latter were Speciale, Fiore, Damiani, Sambuti, and Guidobaldi. The name of this last, who had been with Castelcicala member of the former junta, may have given rise to the mistake that the prince was also of this. There are shades and gradations in political obloquy which must not be overlooked. It was also said by some that the prince, whose name is Fabrizio Ruffo, like that of the celebrated cardinal, had been ennobled in consequence of his *services* in the junta. This is an error, as Castelcicala's title came to him by inheritance, and he already bore it when he was appointed to the junta of 1796. The French court of correctional police acquitted the editors, on the ground that the statement of the simple fact of the prince having been a member of a junta of state at Naples did not constitute defamation.

ART. XV.—Friedrich von Schiller's *Wallenstein's Lager im Lateinische übersetzt, mit gegenüber stehenden Deutschen Texte.* Von Gustav. Grusinger. (Frederick Schiller's Wallenstein's Camp, translated into Latin, and accompanied with the German Text, by G. Grusinger.) Tubingen. 1830. 8vo.

THIS is rather an elaborate *capriccio*, for here we have the whole of the Camp translated line for line into Latin rhymes. The translator mentions in his preface, that he had been led accidentally to make the attempt on the celebrated Capuchin Sermon, and having succeeded to his own satisfaction, he went on to complete the translation as it now appears. No one will of course expect that the Camp could appear to much advantage in a Latin dress, and particularly under the additional restraint of rhymes. Its jokes and puns, and idiomatic turns, which can scarcely be reflected in a translation into a modern language, escape almost entirely in the attempt to embody them in Latin. We can conceive, indeed, that an imitation, though not a translation, might be given in that language, which might possess something of the spirit of the original, by discarding the rhymes, and adopting some easy and flowing metre; but if the principle of translating line for line, and the use of rhymes, be retained, we believe the attempt to be quite hopeless. The translator may now and then hit on a successful turn, or an easy rhyme, but this occasional success must be purchased at the expense of many passages full of forced turns, far-fetched expressions, and ideas interpolated merely for the sake of filling up an unmanageable line. As to the merits of the present translation, we do not believe the Camp could have been much better translated in the same form by any other person; though we should infer from the circumstance of the Sermon being, perhaps, the most successful part of it, that more labour had been bestowed on the task in the outset than afterwards, and in short that the translator began to feel that a joke pursued through more than a thousand lines grew rather tiresome. A few lines of the opening of the Sermon will afford a specimen of his manner.

" Heisa, Juchheisa, dudeldumdei!
Das geht ja hoch her. Bin auch dabei!
Ist das eine Armee von Christen?
Sind wir Türken? Sind wir Antibapten?
Treibt man so mit dem Sonntag Spott
Als hätte der allmächtige Gott
Das Chiragra, konnte nicht drein schlagen?
Ist's jetzt Zeit zu Saufgelagen,
In Banketten und Feuertagen?
Quid hic statis otiosi?" &c.

" Heisa, Juchheisa, dudeldumdum!
Quantus strepitus! Ego etiam adsum.
Estne exercitus hic, qui clamat Christe!
Sumusne Turcæ vel Anabaptistæ?
Quanto ludibrio fit dominica
Laboratne Deus omnipotens chiragra,
Ut vos non possit percutire?
Quid nunc occupati estes cum gutture?
Quorsum nil nisi feriæ et epulæ?
Quid statis hic otiosi?" &c.

The attempt to render the lightness and buoyancy of the Recruit's Song, in the seventh scene, is far less successful. The original moves with the grace of a light-horseman; the translator follows with the lumbering pace of a heavy dragoon.

" Trommeln und Pfeifen,
Kriegrischer Klang,
Wandern und streisen
Die Welt entlang!
Rosse gelenkt,
Muthig geschwenkt,
Schwert an der Seite
Frisch in die weite!
Fluchtig und flink
Frei, wie der Fink,
Auf Sträuchern und Bäumen
In Himmels Räumen
Heisa! ich folge des Friedländes
Fahn!"

" Tibiæ et tympana,
Bellicorum musica,
Myrant per mundum
Ubique rotundum!
Equi reguntur,
Intrepide ventuntur;
Gladius ad latus
Fulget nudatus!
In campam meamus
In aves volamus,
Sicut frugilla
In arbore illa
In virgultis ac fruticibus
Et in cœli vicibus
Heysa! Sequor signa Friedlandi!"

On the whole, though there is cleverness in the work, we cannot help thinking that Mr. Grusinger's talents and time might have been much better employed. Our readers will probably recollect a grave receipt for the composition of some dish, in which, after all the ingredients are scientifically mixed and arranged, the maker is directed to—open the window and throw the whole into the street. We are disposed to offer a somewhat similar advice to the translators of modern poems into Latin verse; we think they could not do better, after polishing their work as well as possible, than to copy it out very neatly, and—put it in the fire.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

No. XVII.

FRANCE.

PARIS, unquestionably, takes the lead of all the cities in the world, in the generous profusion with which she offers instruction to all who are desirous of it. In this city, more than any where else, instruction of the highest description is gratuitously afforded to all classes; and the crowds that attend the lectures of a Cuvier, a Guizot and an Abel-Remusat afford gratifying evidence to the fact. Among the courses about to commence, we now enumerate those that seem most to invite attention, either from the importance or the novelty of their subject, or the talent and celebrity of the professors.

Besides numerous special establishments, supported by the State with a splendour honourable to the nation, and among which we may quote the *Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle*, the *Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers*, the *Bibliothèque Royale*, the *Observatoire*, the *Musée Français*, &c., Paris possesses two great foci of instruction—the *College de France* and the *Académie*, the latter of which includes five faculties. Twenty-four courses of lectures appear in the programme of the first, among the newest and the most remarkable of which are those on General and Experimental Physics, by Ampère; on the Comparative History of Legislation, by Lerminier; on the History of the Natural Sciences, by Cuvier; on Archeology, by Champollion le jeune; (by the way we are happy to hear that an English translation of M. Champollion Figeac's excellent compendium of this rising science may shortly be expected from a talented young Englishman—Mr. Thurgar, jun. of Norwich;) on Political Economy, by M. J. B. Say. The Academy of Paris enumerates amongst its professors, M. Jouffroy, for the History of Modern Philosophy; M. Fauriel, for Foreign Literature; M. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, for Zoology, Anatomy, and Physiology; and M. Patin, for French Eloquence. The *Societé de Methodes d'Enseignement* has commenced a gratuitous course of lectures for people engaged in business. They began on December the 4th, and will be continued till June; the Professors are M. Raucourt, for Human Physiology; J. P. M. Royer-Collard, for Public Law; M. Payen, for Manufacturing Industry; M. Leret, for Botany and Vegetable Physiology; and M. Achille Comte, for Studies on the Animal Kingdom.

After a lapse of twenty years from its first appearance, the celebrated Orientalist, De Sacy, has just published a second edition of his Arabic Grammar, with corrections and additions.

The increase of the departmental press, since the memorable days of July, has been quite extraordinary, and will be most beneficial in many ways, and not the least in the advantage which will be felt in the counteraction thus given to the undue preponderance of the capital, by which the provinces are left at the mercy of any party or opinion that may be dominant at the time.

A Volume, entitled *Souvenirs sur Mirabeau et sur les deux premières assemblées legislatives*, has just appeared, edited by the late M. Dumont, the editor and French translator of Bentham's Works. Dumont was sincerely attached to Mirabeau, and often assisted him in the composition of his Speeches. These facts appear from the autograph letters of Mirabeau, inserted at the end of the volume, which cannot fail to excite attention.

A new Novel by M. D'Arlincourt is announced for immediate appearance: it is entitled, " Les Rebelles sous Charles V."

The rage for compressing the works of voluminous and popular authors into *one* volume, is extending to the writers on jurisprudence, *Pothier* being now announced, arranged in the order of the subjects treated in the *Code Civil*, to which the works of this celebrated jurist may be considered a necessary accompaniment, as affording the best interpretation of the present system, in all cases of obscure or imperfect enactment.

It is intended to form an Ethnographical Museum at Paris, under the direction of the indefatigable Baron de Ferussac. The object of this establishment is to preserve from the ravages of time such memorials of the present nations of the world as are peculiar to them, in their arts, costumes, arms, buildings, &c. &c. Those nations, in particular, that are in a savage state, or are but imperfectly advanced in the social scale, will form the chief object of attention, as from the rapid extension of modern civilization, the manners and primitive character of such nations, or tribes, are daily losing their original features. A large building, divided into many distinct apartments, will be devoted to the objects of this institution, and will contain the specimens and memorials alluded to.

Baron Ferussac is also about to resume the publication of his Natural History of the Mollusques, and seven livraisons will shortly appear. He will also shortly publish Monographs of the various classes and orders that precede the *Pulmones*, which form the first part of his Mollusques. Subscribers to the former parts are respectfully requested to give orders for the completion of their sets.

Egypt is destined to furnish unceasing subjects of curiosity for every class of readers. While Champollion *(on dit)* is about to unrol the mystic papyri in all their primitive significance, the celebrated traveller, *Caillaud*, has preceded him with the first Numbers of a work on the Arts and Trades of the Egyptians, Nubians and Ethiopians; their customs, civil and domestic, with details on the manners and customs of the modern inhabitants of these countries. Plates, brilliantly coloured, illustrate the text in its minutest details, and when the work is completed, we hope to find materials in it for a curious and interesting article.

The 23d volume of that eminently useful scientific Annual, the *Archives des Decouvertes et des Inventions Nouvelles*, which commenced its career in 1808, has just appeared for the year 1830. We know of no similar work, embracing so many subjects, so complete, and yet so compendious, in the English language.

M. Crapelet, the celebrated printer, not satisfied with printing beautiful editions, has, on various occasions, evinced great learning and research in various publications of his own on historical subjects. He has just published a little volume, entitled *Anne Boleyn*, which we recommend to the attention of our readers, as a careful and pains-taking attempt to exhibit a character hitherto strangely disfigured by party writers, in its true light.

Michaud, the historian of the Crusades, has arrived at Marseilles, on his return from Palestine, which he has been exploring with a view to the further elucidation of his work. The result of his travels will shortly appear.

The poets, Barthélemy and Méry, whose frequent satires and bitter political poems have so often fixed the public attention, may now be purchased in a complete and uniform edition, in four small volumes. Few poets of the New School deserve perusal so well as these brethren of a craft, the Beaumont and Fletcher of modern times.

Sir H. Parnell has just published, at Paris, a most interesting pamphlet, in French, principally intended to enlighten the uninformed among the French people on the subject of the Commercial intercourse of Great Britain and France, and to show that the trade between two such great and opulent nations stands greatly in need of being placed on a more liberal and rational footing, with a view to the advantage of both countries. We sincerely hope, that the statesman-like plans of the able author may meet with no narrow-minded opposition from monopolists on either side of the Channel, and that both governments will see it to be for their best interests to legislate on Sir Henry's principles.

Viscount de Martignac, the ingenious and eloquent defender of the ex-ministers, has just given to the world some of the fruits of his present leisure, in the shape of a small volume, entitled *Le Couvent de Sainte-Marie aux Bois, Episode ; précédé d'une Notice sur la Guerre d'Espagne en* 1823. The *Episode* is sentimental and melancholy enough, and is only redeemed from commonplace by the style of the narrator. From the notice prefixed, we learn that the Viscount is engaged on a work of considerable magnitude, embracing a complete History of the Expedition to Spain, in 1823, in its *political* point of view, the only one hitherto unexhibited and unknown. From the important post held by the author in the French expedition, (commissary of the government) he asserts his competence to give a true account of that intervention—the cruel injustice of which, he says, is now so loudly insisted on. The Viscount's opinions steer a middle course, fully acquitting the Spanish people of any affection for the Constitutionalists, the great proof of which was the enthusiastic reception of the French army by the whole population, but lamenting that the restored monarch has not better understood that in an arbitrary government there is as little security for its own power as for the people who submit to it. We shall look forward for the appearance of the promised work with considerable interest, and sincerely wish the Viscount better health to complete it.

Charles Lucien Bonaparte has recently published an octavo volume of Observations on the *Regne Animal* of Cuvier, to whose talent and genius he pays a just tribute of praise. On the subject of Ornithology, the Prince of Musignand has dwelt at greatest length, as from his long devotion to this branch of Zoology, he has been able to communicate many additional particulars collected in Europe and in North America.

To any of our countrymen who visit the Pyrenees either in quest of pleasure, or health, or science, or all conjoined, we would recommend the travelling parties of Monsieur Boubée, which he makes annually in the autumn, for the purpose of studying the natural and general history of these fine mountains. Mr. B. is a zealous and active naturalist, and we cannot prescribe a better regimen to the enervated frames and jaded spirits of our annual emigrants to the shores of France, than a regular course of such mountain discipline. M. Boubée's address at Paris, is No. 62, Rue de la Harpe.

A. M. Dussumier, of Bordeaux, has made six voyages to India, and each time has brought back collections of rare and curious animals, which he has presented to the Museum of Natural History. None of his voyages, however, has equalled his last, and he has been fortunate enough to bring all his specimens safely home. Catalogues of the various collections have been drawn up by Messieurs Isidore Geoffroy, Valenciennes, and Victor Audouin, assistant naturalists to the Museum.

GERMANY.

Population.—The population of the Prussian States, at the close of 1830, appears, from the official returns just published, to have been 12,939,877; the number of births in 1830 was 497,241, that of deaths 390,702, being an excess of 106,539.—The excess of births has, however, considerably, and, on the whole, gradually decreased of late years. In seven years, 1817-23, the total excess was 1,227,990, and in the following seven years, 1824-30, 1,019,092. This may be partly ascribed to the greater number of marriages concluded in the years immediately succeeding the return of the general peace. The whole increase of the population in fourteen years has been 2,247,082.

The number of letters that passed through the Prussian Post Offices in 1830 was nearly 27,655,966.

At the commencement of the year 1832, a new Medical Journal is to be published at Berlin, under the title of *Berliner Medizinische Zeitung*, in weekly numbers, containing the most recent and interesting intelligence respecting Natural History and Medicine. It is to be edited by Dr. J. J. Sachs.

At the same time will be commenced, a new Law Journal, entitled '*Juristische Zeitung für die Konigl. Preussischen Staaten*,' in weekly numbers.

Professor Neumann has brought back from his voyage to Canton, a very neat collection of Canton Chinese Literature. It is really wonderful how, during five months' stay in Canton, and without any extensive resources, he found means to collect above 10,000 volumes. They are placed in the New Public Library at Berlin, of which, it is to be hoped, they will become the property.

What difficulties Professor Neumann may have met with at Canton, we do not know, not having seen him on his return; but we *do* know from himself that, during his visit in London, before he went to Canton, he received all possible attention from the members of the Asiatic Society, and others, the best qualified to promote his views.

Raumer, the author of the "History of the Hohenstauffens," presents the literary world with the fruits of his researches among the inedited MSS. in the Royal and other public libraries at Paris, in two volumes, of "Letters from Paris, illustrating the History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." We cannot go into particulars, and only remark, that the History of Germany, England, France, Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands, and occasionally that of other countries, is sometimes exhibited in quite a new light, and sometimes the facts, already known, confirmed, in a very remarkable manner:

the names of Charles V. and Francis I., of Philip II. and his Son Don Carlos, of Granvella, Alba, Orange Egmont, Sixtus V., Henry III. and the Guises, Henry IV., Elizabeth, and Mary Queen of Scots, James I., Charles I., Cromwell, Masaniello, and many others, indicate what the reader may expect from the well known industry and judgment of the learned collector.

A daily paper, published at Munich, entitled the *German Tribunal*, has recently made a violent, but apparently not unfounded, attack, on many of the German Professors of History, on account of their time-serving pliancy and want of political honesty. We are not surprised at such a charge, but must express our satisfaction at seeing it made so openly and manfully as in the present case. Even Heeren, the celebrated author of so many valuable works, is not exempted from deserved censure in this respect; and while we make all allowances for the difficulty of the times, and the changing dynasties witnessed by continental writers, it is much to be wished that men occupying such elevated situations as Heeren, were more careful of committing themselves to the impulses of mere party politics. Amidst the dearth of free discussion on political subjects in Germany, it is refreshing to meet with a paper like the *German Tribunal*, that dares to speak out, and we congratulate the King of Bavaria on possessing so valuable a pioneer to assist him in his constitutional improvements.

An edition of the Hebrew Bible is announced by the learned lexicographer, Gesenius, with various readings and notes.

A translation into German of Mr. Keightley's learned and ingenious work on the Mythology of Greece and Italy, is announced for publication at Weimar.

Three new parts of Ersch and Gruber's German Encyclopædia will shortly appear. The delay in publication is said to have arisen from the illness of several of the contributors.

A Society, of sixteen members, for the cultivation of Celtic Literature, was instituted, in 1824, in the Duchies of Liefland and Courland. Its object was the theoretical and practical investigation of the Celtic language, in all its branches, grammatical as well as lexicographical. A magazine, for the embodying of its proceedings, was commenced at Mittau in 1829; and at the end of 1830, six numbers had appeared, the contents of which are highly interesting. At the same period the Society consisted of One Hundred and Thirteen ordinary and Five honorary Members. The scattered tribes in Scotland, Ireland and Wales will prick up their ears at this; and we should not be at all surprized to hear of a deputation from the Highland Society, accompanied by the bagpiper of the 42nd Regiment, setting sail for the Baltic immediately.

If our feeble voice could reach Herr Retzsch in his studio in Germany, we would ardently conjure him, in the name of the people of England, to proceed with his glorious illustrations of Shakspeare. Surely he cannot complain of want of encouragement, since to our knowledge more than 500 copies were sold of his Hamlet, in London, by one house alone.

The University of the Austrian Capital is, perhaps, in the most deplorable state of any in Germany. Kilian, in his work on the German Universities, has already awarded it this justice. The fault is less owing to its organization than to the total want of scientific ardour, and the blind routine of the greater part of the professors. Here, however, as every where else, there are some able men, who have rendered important services to science. Mohs, Littrow, Jacquin, Baumgartner, and, among the young professors, Czermak, are worthy of esteem; the first in particular has greatly contributed to raise mineralogy to the dignity of a science. The University is well attended, from the simple reason that no Austrian is permittted to study in foreign countries.

Thiersch, the author of the Homeric Grammar, is about to visit Greece, where he will remain till spring.

The second volume of Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum will shortly be completed, by the publication of the second part.

ITALY.

Some time since the Italian Journals announced the discovery of the original portrait of Dante's Beatrice: we are now informed, that one of the earliest commentaries on the Commedia, that of Graziolo dei Bambagioli, Chancellor of Bologna, has been discovered in the Biblioteca Laurenziana of Florence. This Commentator was contemporary with Dante, and his Latin notes were the subject of eager research on the part of Messrs. Bandini and Dionisi, the two classical commentators on the Florentine poet. This piece of intelligence will have great interest for the Italians, who are so warmly alive to all that relates to their great countryman.

RUSSIA.

Although we are not able to say as yet whether the literary harvest has been upon the whole more or less favourable than usual in Russia, the Cholera does not appear to have made much, if any, difference in respect to quantity. In point of quality too, a few publications have appeared that are entitled to considerable commendation. Among these we may rank Veltman's *Strannik*, or "The Wanderer across a Map"—a kind of poetico-sentimental journey, in which the author has mingled actual descriptions with ingenious fiction—pleasantry and sportive satire with philosophical inquiry and reflection—poetry with prose. Graceful and elegant in its style, captivating alike by its shrewdness and its playfulness, and bearing the stamp of originality, this little work has been received with unequivocal satisfaction, and immediately obtained a striking degree of public favour for its author, who was previously known only by a compendium of the history of Bessarabia, and some little poetical trifles. About very nearly the same time with the *Strannik*, appeared another production from Veltman's pen, entitled the *Bægletz*, or Fugitive. Notwithstanding that this poetical tale contains some striking and able passages, it by no means confirmed the expectations raised by its predecessor. So far, however, from showing that the writer had suddenly fallen off, or lost any of his vigour, this

circumstance proves quite the contrary, since the latter publication had in fact been composed by him some years ago. M. Veltman is also the author of *Iskander*, a dithyrambic dramatic sketch in prose—an effusion as singular in its conception as in its execution, replete with extraodinary energy both of sentiment and expression.

One of the Moscow journals (the Telescope) has fallen into a singular and rather amusing mistake, complimenting Mr. Moore, our English poet, on his translations from the Russian, and recommending him to exhibit to his countrymen some longer and more important specimens of the northern Muses! We dare say Mr. Moore will be not a little surprised at finding he has made such a proficiency in the Russian language, and that his fame as a successful translator from it has already reached Moscow. His case is somewhat like that of *le medicin malgrè lui*, for whether he knows the language or not, the journalist is positive that he has translated some pieces from it, and as there is no denying facts, refers his readers for proof of his assertion to Galignani's *monotome* edition of the poet's works, where, among others, they will find an elegant, but "not very exact" translation of Kozlov's *Vetchernii Zvon*, beginning, "Those evening bells, those evening bells!" "It will be seen," says the critic, "that he has cut down the six-line stanzas of the original to stanzas of four lines, and has thereby lost some of its beauties, although he has preserved the idea." How this curious mistake happened we know not, for the writer mentions some of Kozlov's translations from the "Irish Melodies," and the piece in question was avowedly borrowed from Moore.

Zagoskin, of whom we made some mention at page 139 of our preceding volume, and who has lately been appointed Director of the Imperial Theatre at Moscow, has published his new novel, entitled *Roslavlev*. At present we can speak of its merits only from report, and that seems entirely in its favour. We have, indeed, perused some extracts from it—among others, an episodical scene, describing Napoleon's precipitate escape from the Kremlin when it was surrounded by the flames; yet we dare not venture to express any opinion of our own on the work from such detached fragments. We may as well take this opportunity of correcting a seeming error in that article of our 15th Number to which we have referred: we there stated that a translation of Zagoskin's former novel had appeared in this country, for although it was not actually published when that sheet was at press, we had every reason to expect that it would be so before our own article was seen, and for that reason did not enter into any particulars respecting the original. "The Young Muscovite" has since been repeatedly announced as in the press, but seems so little inclined to come into the world, that we might almost imagine it is now actually *suppressed*.

Ushakov's tale, entitled "The Kirgis-Kaisak," possesses a degree of interest and exhibits a degree of talent, that, in spite of some defects of style, and some imperfections in the narrative itself, have obtained for its author hearty commendation, even from those critics who are evidently disposed to act the censor towards him. So far from attempting to discourage him by the apparent severity of their remarks, they predict that he has only to give himself fair play, and that he can hardly fail to distinguish himself in this species of writing. The following sketch will serve to convey some idea of the structure of the plot. Slavin, a young officer, is rejected by Prince Liubsky—for whose daughter he entertains an insurmountable passion—on account of the meanness of his birth, he being the son of a village priest, although he had been afterwards adopted by a lady of rank, and had become the heir to her property. If

the aristocratical feeling of the nobleman revolts from such an alliance as disgraceful to his family, the subsequent discovery that Slavin is the son of a fugitive Kirgise female, who had sold him when an infant to his reputed father, renders him completely inexorable. The unfortunate youth, for whom life has no longer any attractions, is now anxious only for an honourable death, which he shortly after finds beneath the walls of Varna.

Among recent publications of the Poetical class, few will be perused with greater interest and regret than the poetical works of *Venevitinov;* for before these early indications of youthful talent were given to the world, their author was no more. He died on the 15th (27th) March, 1827, at the premature age of twenty-two. This circumstance may perhaps invest them with a melancholy charm they might not possess, did we not know that the promise of future excellence can never now be realized; that the aspirations they breathe for poetical fame are now terminated, while the frequent presentiments of impending fate have been too truly fulfilled. Such reflections, undoubtedly, enhance the interest of those pieces where the poet alludes to his own hopes and feelings; yet there is so much beauty in the poems themselves that they would have obtained admiration, even had not our sympathy been so powerfully excited by commiseration for their author's untimely fate. They are distinguished by a tone of touching pathos and sensibility, and by a generous enthusiasm for whatever is noble and dignified.

About the same time with Venevitinov died another young writer, in whom Russia lost one who promised to become an ornament to her literature, and to enrich it with productions of a novel and original character,—we mean *Peter Mikhailovitch Kudriashev,* on the 19th (31st) of May, barely two months after the decease of the former, this youthful and ardent votary of the muses expired at Orenburg, in the 26th year of his age. Holding an official appointment as Auditor in the Ordnance department, at that place, his hours of study were necessarily limited; yet sedulous application made up for the brevity of his leisure, and enabled him to become familiar with all the best writers in his native language. If the remoteness of Orenburg from either of the two capitals of the empire, was in some respects rather unfavourable, it was also advantageous to him, inasmuch as his residence there made him acquainted with nature in her grander aspect, and enabled him to acquire an intimate knowledge of the neighbouring Eastern tribes, and to study their manner, their character, and their superstitions. Thus qualified for such an undertaking, he determined to avail himself of this knowledge, and to compose a series of national tales, exhibiting the principal traits of each of the various tribes inhabiting the South-Eastern portion of the empire. Within the two or three last years of his life he composed many prose narratives, viz. "Aidar and Absdriasha," a Bashkir tale; "Kutchak Haliya," a Kirgise tale: "Ivan and Dara," an Orenburg tale, &c. &c. He composed, likewise, an historical sketch of Bashkiria, and an Essay on the Popular Superstitions of the Bashkirs, besides various other pieces both in prose and verse, all having more or less for their object the delineation of that people. Had he lived to pursue the career he had thus opened for himself, there can be little doubt but that he would have succeeded in establishing a new species of literary composition; that he was acquainted with the popular poetry of the Bashkirs, appears from some translated specimens he has given; and his own poetical compositions are generally tinged with romantic feeling, and enriched with imagery borrowed from the scenery and people amidst whom he dwelt. They originally appeared in various periodicals, but whether they have since been collected, we are unable to say.

The success of "Ivan Vuizhigin" has given rise to numerous imitations and other productions, continuing the history of Ivan's family in the various branches of it. Alexander Orlov's fertile pen has produced no fewer than six different tales and satirical pieces, all relating to the hero of Bulgarin's romance and his descendants, viz. "The Death of Ivan Vuizhigin;" "Ivan's Funeral Obsequies;" "Sidor and Ignatius, the Sons of Ivan Vuizhigin," 2 vols.; "The Marriages of Sidor and Ignatius;" "Morfa Ivanovna Vuizhigin;" and "Peter Vuizhigin's Godfather." Each of these publications bears the date of 1831, besides some half-dozen others by the same author. As may be supposed, they are short and hasty sketches, and are intended chiefly to serve as the vehicle of temporary satire. Although, judging from the considerable sale these trifles have obtained, M. Orlov enjoys some popularity among readers, he has been very severely handled by the critics, many of whom have spoken of them in terms of the most unqualified contempt. In the "Northern Bee" especially, and the other journals conducted by Gretch and Bulgarin, he is reviled without mercy. Others again are so far from denying him merit, that they consider him no mean rival of Bulgarin himself. One of the Moscow periodicals, after vindicating M. Orlov's literary abilities, proceeds to draw a formal parallel between him and his contemporary. "If Bulgarin," it is there said, "surpasses Orlov in the graces of style, Orlov is superior to him in the liveliness and vivacity of his narrative. The novels of the former display more study, greater patience—(greater patience do they require too on the part of the reader); while the short tales of the latter display more ingenuity, and are more engaging. Bulgarin is more of the philosopher; Orlov of the poet. Impartiality, however, demands from us that we should point out one quality in which the author of Vuizhigin is incontestably pre-eminent—we mean a regard for morality. What, in fact, can be more edifying than the lessons with which he furnishes us? We learn from them how mean it is to lie; how indiscreet to give one's-self up either to drinking or gaming. Nevertheless, even the most ardent admirers of Bulgarin must admit, that, however well intended, his morality is somewhat tedious; while the no less zealous partizans of Orlov must in their turn allow, that it requires all his talent to excuse his indiscretions. With all this, it is certain that Orlov has by no means acquired so extensive a reputation as his rival." The writer then proceeds to account for this in a manner not very complimentary to Bulgarin, attributing the greater success of the latter to literary manœuvring and intrigue. This we consider unjust: although he may have occasionally resorted to little artifices somewhat derogatory in themselves, Bulgarin is a writer who would be esteemed in any country, and the literature o? Russia is under undeniable obligations to him for transplanting into it those forms of composition which will render it more interesting to the rest of Europe. As to the sparring of journalists, and the diametrically opposite opinions maintained by them, the Russians are not at all behind their neighbours; and in that respect they verify Arlequin's proverb—"*Tout comme chez nous.*"

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT,

FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER, 1831, INCLUSIVE.

THEOLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

1 GROTIUS, Hugo, de Veritate Relig. Christ. Edit. nov. curav. et select. Annotat. instr. J. T. Bergman. vol. 1. 8vo. *Lugd.-Bat.* 10s.
2 ——— ——— Annotationes in Novum Testamentum, denuo emend. editæ. 8 vols. 8vo. *Gronning.* 4*l.* 4s.
3 Evangelische Hauspostille. 3r band. 8vo. *Hallæ.* 3s.
4 Biblia Hebraica, ed. Van der Hooght, recens. sect. prophet. recensum, et explicat. clavemque masorethiam et rabbin. addid. A. Hahn. gr. 8vo. *Leipz.* 1s.
5 Umbreit, Pychologie als Wissenschaften. 8vo. *Heidel.* 4s. 6d.
6 Hagel, Demonstratio religionis Christianæ Cathol. Tom. 1. 8vo. *Augsb.* 5s.
7 Liebner, Hugo von A. Victor, und die theolog. Richtungen seiner Zeit. 8vo. *Leipz.* 10s.
8 Menken, Homilien über das 9te und 10te cap. des Briefes an die Hebräer. 8vo. *Brem.* 8s. 6d.
9 Hanschild, der wahre Christ, ed. schriftgemässe Darstellung der christl. glaubenslehre. 8vo. *Leipz.* 8s.
10 Jonas, der Propheten, Orakel üb. Moab kritisch vindicirt. und durch Uebersetzung nebst Anmerkungen erläutert von Dr. Hitzig. 8vo. *Heidelb.* 3s.
11 Waibel, Dogmatik der Relig. Jesu Christi. 8vo. 2 band. *Augsb.* 16s.
12 Reichlin-Meldegg, Gesch. des Christenthums. 2te abthl. 8vo. *Frieb.*
13 Archiv für die Gesch. der kirchlichen Reformation. 1r band. 1r heft. 8vo. 5s.
14 Augustini, Olomucensis Episcop. Olomucens. series. ed. cum notis Richter. 8vo. *Leips.* 5s.
15 Bengel, Reden über Religion und Christenthum. 8vo. *Tubing.* 8s. 6d.
15* Teplotz, Ethica Christiana. Tom. 1. 8vo. *Pragnæ.* 2s. 6d.
16 Theologische Studien und Kritiken eine Zeitschrift für das gesammte gebiet der Theologie. 5 jahrj. 1831. 4 hefte. 8vo. *Hamb.* 30s.
17 Doering, die gelehrten theologen Deutschlands im 18 und 19ten jahrhund. 1r band. A—H. gr. 8vo. *Neustadt.* 15s.
18 Neander, allgem. Gesch. der Christl. Relig. und Kirche. 6r band. 8vo. *Hamb.* 15s.
19 Mauser, Commentar üb. das Buch Josua. *Stütt.* 4s.
20 Originis Opera, ed. et cum Notis Lommatzsch. 8vo. *Berol.* 8s.
21 Nitzsch, System der Christlichen Lehre. 8vo. *Bonn.* 7s.
22 Paulus, exegetisches Handbuch über die drei ersten Evangelien. 2 thl. gr. 8vo. *Heidelb.* 19s.
23 ——— des Apostels, Lehrbriefe an die Galater, und Römer-Christen, herausgegeb. v. Dr. Paulus. gr. 8vo. *Heidelb.* 12s.
24 Lange, Beiträge zur ältesten Kirchengeschichte. 8vo. 2 thl. *Leipz.* 5s.
25 Steffens, von der falschen Theologie. 8vo. *Bresl.* 4s. 6d.
26 Heinemann, Uebersetzung des Koheleth, nebst Commentar. 8vo. *Berl.* 4s. 6d.
27 Rosenbaum, de Controversia inter Rationalismus et Supranaturalismus. 8vo. *August.* 3s.
28 L'Abbé Gerbet, Coup-d'œil sur la controverse Chrétienne depuis les premiers siècles jusqu'à nos jours. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

29 L'Enitition, ou exposé des principes fondamentaux de la doctrine des chretiens catholiques primitifs; suivi de leurs évangiles, d'un extrait de la table d'or, etc. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

30 Méditations religieuses, en forme de discours pour toutes les époques, circonstances et situations de la vie domestique et civile, etc. Tome III. IIe Partie. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

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